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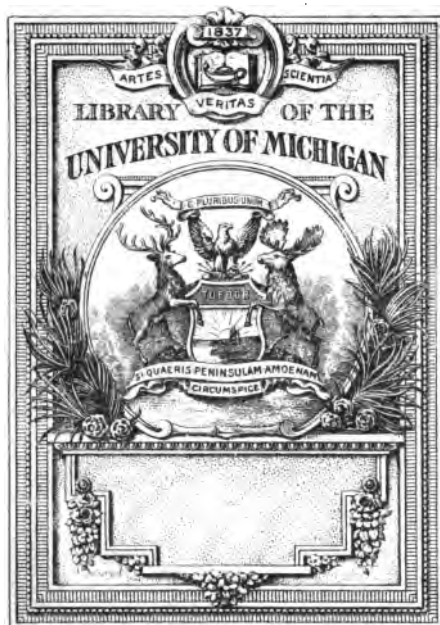
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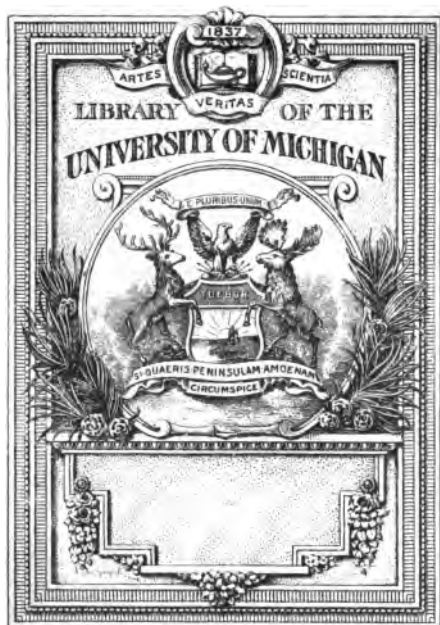
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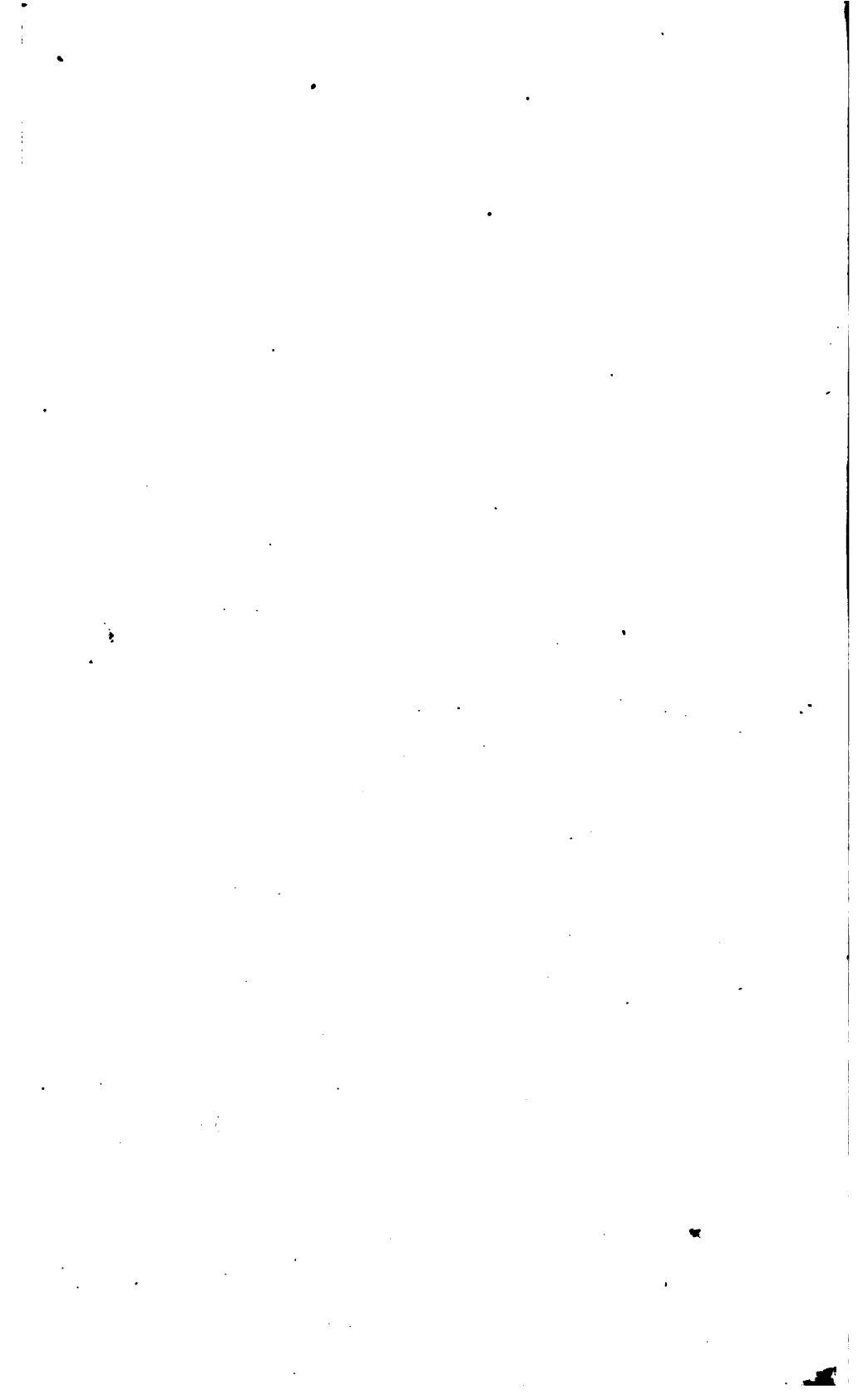
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AND

LOUIS PHILIPPE.







CHARLES X.

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LOUIS PHILIPPE:

THE SECRET HISTORY

OF THE

REVOLUTION OF JULY

1830.

LONDON :

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1839.

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INTRODUCTION.

ALL A.F. 1834

IN the month of July, 1830, Paris was the scene of a Revolution, which, after a most bloody struggle of three days, terminated in the deposition of the King, Charles X. ; and in spite of the strong principles of legitimacy, and hereditary succession, his lawful heirs were deprived of their rights, and the whole of his family were driven from their country.

Then Europe beheld another of those extraordinary changes, with which it pleases God from time to time to visit the mighty of this world, in order to teach men how infinitely weak in his sight are earthly sceptres. Then the descendant of a house, which during nine

centuries had been crowned with glory and conquest—the rightful heir of Henry IV, and Louis XVI, from whose brow the royal bandeau had been torn by the frenzied mob—left his father's land for the land of exile, attended merely by a few devoted adherents, and brave officers, whose attachment and fidelity had been only encreased by the misfortunes of the old King their master.

So very incorrect have been the accounts published of this Revolution, so partially have reports spoken of the new power, and so favourable has the English press in general appeared to the changes effected by the Revolution of July, that in this country the general impression was at first strongly in its favour, and is still so, among many persons.

Time must develope the secret workings and intrigues that effected the Revolution of July; and France, become weary of a power which during eight years has brought upon her internally a series of civil dissensions—emeutes, diminution of trade, is at this moment trying to restrain its authority within the narrowest limits.* The Political and Diplomatic standing

* At the very moment we were writing our Introduction, we heard of the defeat of the French Ministry by the coalition. Thus a more liberal ministry is to be formed, and the friends

of that Kingdom is lowered amongst the European powers, and England, no longer deceived by its hypocritical protestations, does not care for a weak and unfaithful ally, whose concealed enmity will burst forth with the first *coup de Canon Russe*. *

of the king have been obliged to yield to an imposing majority formed of the most heterogeneous materials—what will be the result of that coalition God only knows, but we must say had the King followed a constitutional mode of Government, he would have spared the nation some uneasiness, and himself the disgrace of a defeat.

* We assert that French enmity will burst forth with the *first coup de Canon Russe*; and it is the opinion of many that a War between Russia and England is no longer a question of doubt, but merely one of time.

Obliged to take a part for or against, with which of the contending nations will France side?—from the moment that question has been agitated the French press have answered it—“*France will take part with Russia against England*.” And in confirmation of this opinion we call the attention of our readers to the following facts—

In France, since the Revolution of July, the King has reigned and governed, and in spite of the boasted independence of Guizot, Thiers, and others, the ministry will be directed by the King, and their policy will be his—Louis Philippe is bound hand and foot to *la Sainte Alliance*—he was and is closely united to Russia, by whose direction he has been guided during the last four years in his policy towards England.

This work belongs to history; it is a plain exposition of facts, whose accuracy can only be questioned as to dates and names; and if misstatements or omissions are to be found in this respect, they are merely such as may well have escaped the memory after an interval of seven years.

Favourers as we are of monarchy, and conservatism, and devoted to legitimacy from believing it to be the sole principle of order and tranquillity in Governments—a belief which has cast us upon a life of endless sacrifice and danger—we have felt bound to preface our narrative by a brief survey of the moral, physical, and

We know from a well informed and authentic quarter, that on ascending the Throne of France, Louis Philippe entered into a *secret treaty* with the autocrat of Russia—this explains the cowardly sanction of the destruction of Warsaw, and the annihilation of the Polish Nation, whilst her best and most ancient ally, France, moved not to her rescue, though then her power was strong and effective. This explains the policy of the Molé Ministry; a Russian policy the most undisguised! This explains the very recent insult so gratuitously and cowardly given to an English Ship of War, by M. Le Prince de Joinville—the King's son.

The Prince de Joinville knew his father's cherished idea, and he did not care for the consequences of his rash and unprincipled act. We wait the result!!!

political state of France, and thence the position and mistakes of Charles X.

We have referred back so far only as 1825, nor has it been necessary to do more than sketch the respective attitudes of the two contending parties, viz., that of the monarchy, and that of the liberal faction—in order to contrast the secret practices, the disloyalty, and the cowardly perfidy of the one, with the stupid confidence and incredible blindness of the other.

This sketch is the Revolution of July in process of rehearsal—with the secrets of the decorations and side scenes, and the actors who are not yet masked.

It is the skeleton structure as seen through its scaffoldage, with its faults of proportion, and the bad quality of its materials—it is the canvas which is to serve for the picture, with the colours before they have been blended.

It was quite necessary for us to state our reasons for still denouncing after its eight years' existence, the Government of July—recognized as it is, and established perhaps immoveably on its seeming footing of the most cordial sympathy with the allied powers of Europe. It was quite necessary, to demonstrate the causes which have led to it, in order to bring to light, as well as to untwist the wires of the contrivance, and thus

expose the perfidy of those who have been the movers of them. All this was necessary if we would escape what else must be encountered for the hundredth time—the accusation of blindly yielding to party bias—of sacrificing truth to prejudice—and of taking counsel only of our own resentment.

We consider it our duty to name the men who have been the principal actors in the scenes which we are presenting to the public—scenes well known in France, but with which the English public are almost unacquainted. This we do to prove to that public that what we have said of those persons and their acts is the simple truth.

This revolution of men, and not of measures—of individuals, and not of principles—a revolution that has been framed for their exclusive benefit, of this it is that we have prophesied the results in the succeeding pages, and regret, (with all sincerity we say it,) from our hearts regret, that we lack the powerful pen of Chateaubriand, Paul Louis Courier, or de Cormenin, to brand with the infamy it deserves, this bloody but absurd drama; which the doting crowd of your hucksters and retailers, (a happy assortment of intellects as of wares) and your advocates for whom trickery has charms, which they

of all men can best appreciate—which such as these in their fondness have christened “*The beautiful and glorious*,”—sounds which have been caught up and long re-echoed amidst habitual eringings by the tribe of Talleyrands, Soult, Seguieres, Dupins, Guizots, Barthes, Thiers, &c. &c., and the rest, who are courtiers of all times, all dynasties, and all powers. We owe it to all those jaded puppets, whose pompous protestations of devotion to Napoleon, Louis XVIII, and Charles X, we have often listened to, and whose profound obeisances we have often admired. We owe it to those good easy people, ever ready to bow before a new idol, who have been, still are, and will for ever be the dupes of roguery. We owe it to our political friends and brethren, who, like ourselves, have suffered prison and persecutions, and are still their victims. We owe it to ourselves, to our cause, which is that of justice, honor, and loyalty. We owe it to truth. We owe it to France, and its light-hearted inhabitants, to publish, without reserve, our opinions of the actual government, as well as the events which have produced it, and the men who have had most to do with it.

We cannot be accused of partiality, for we have spoken of every one according to his me-

rits, calling shame and contempt only upon those faithless characters who in all times and eras have acted from the love of power, money, and ambition—whose boasted nationality, political principles, strict probity, and affected loyalty, have at all times failed before self-interest or a gilded prospect—men without honor or faith, morality or religion—hypocrites, and followers of the pernicious schools of philosophy and atheism, whose doctrines have, during the last century, diffused throughout Europe enough corruption and immorality to overthrow all subsisting dynasties, and destroy all public tranquillity.

Men without nationality, for to satisfy their thirst for power and riches, they did not shrink from shedding the blood of their countrymen, or the horrors of civil war, and the destruction of peace and comfort, order and tranquillity, to their native land, with all the long and fatal consequences of a revolution—the evils of which will only be remedied by another.

Upon such men—shame and contempt, and to them we leave the shame and preferments—be ours, the glory and persecutions.

It is at the entreaties of friends some of whom have taken a more or less active part in what is

here related, and who have supplied us with valuable documents ; it is, moreover, in a foreign land, and by aid of our recollections alone,* that we are giving these facts to the press ; but they are such as will serve to throw

* In order thoroughly to understand the causes that led to the Revolution of July, and the facts connected with it, it would be necessary to refer back so far as 1814, and begin from that epoch to give a history of parties, which would expose on one side a most hypocritical and crafty combination, on the other a fidelity and confidence the most fatal, and develop the struggles that have day by day undermined the power and popularity of the eldest branch of royalty.

It is essential to point out the organization of Clubs and Secret Societies, at first in large cities, then in those of the second and third class, then in the towns, and at length in the villages. It is also essential to mention that these secret societies received funds from the committee in Paris for the establishment of Journals, Pamphlets, &c., and to relieve the poor who were out of employment, or to foster the idleness of a great number of the members enrolled among these societies, which, directed by the Revolutionary Committee in Paris, had instructions in form to resist the local authorities and disregard the aristocracy of the departments ; and consequently in the most remote provinces the deputies sent to the Chambers were for the most part opposed to Government. This gave rise to the hostility of the Chambers ; nor in alluding to the revolutionary organs must we omit the animosity of the press, sometimes excited by the mob, sometimes by the money of the Duc d'Orleans, now Louis Philippe.

some light on the true situation of parties in the Revolution of July, and to unmask the cunning deeds of a party, which during fifteen years has been engaged in forwarding the scheme by which the throne of France was to be obtained.

The historical and biographical anecdotes related in some of the notes have been given us by men, who from the high situation they occupied at the courts of Louis XVIII and Charles X, were enabled to see much of the *by-play*, and to know pretty well the actors. These documents are therefore of the most genuine quality, and we boldly challenge a fair and honest contradiction to one single fact amongst all those related in the following pages. Should the subject of this work prove interesting to the lovers of historical truth, we propose publishing a second volume, which will contain valuable information respecting the war in La Vendée, immediately after the revolution of July;—upon the resources which the departments of the West presented at that time for the *projected* Levée en masse, under the command of one of the royal family;—upon the incompetency of some of the men who had the direction of it, and the cowardice and carelessness of others;—upon the feelings evinced by the population previous to the arrival of the

Duchesse de Berri, whose error in coming when all was over, followed by her capture and imprisonment at Blaye, occasioned the almost total overthrow of her son's cause in France.

CHAPTER I.

Coup-d'œil of the political situation of France after the Spanish Campaign of 1827—Minister Villele—State of the Revolutionary party—Martignac Minister—Intrigues of the Orleans faction—the Army—Its spirit—Its Fidelity—Bourmont—Means employed to destroy his popularity—Polignac.

IN vain had the war in Spain strengthened the monarchical feelings of Europe. In vain had the Duc d' Angoulême planted "le drapeau blanc de la Vielle France" on the forts of Cadiz and Trocadero, notwithstanding the sinister predictions of the revolutionary press, and the growlings of the English journals. And in vain had the government of Charles X, since his accession

to the crown, given to *France liberale* la nature de l'esprit aussi bien que du courage de l'armée.

* M. le Comte de Villele, a minister the most talented, and best suited to the political exigences of the state of any since the days of Richlieu, had ineffectually opposed to the revolutionary hydra, the resources of his lofty genius and profound penetration. He was compelled to yield to the imposing majority of a

* We copy from an English publication, Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine, No. 233, July, 1838, the following reflections.

"In the year 1834, after the War in Spain, the new Elections were made.

"The Elections were royalist—Liberalism was laid down—and Casimir was one of the very few who was returned to the new chamber—the absence of the ultra liberal party delighted him, he was too loyal for Lamarque, Lafayette, Lafitte, Salverte, Manuel, &c., &c., they were not honest enough for him—he was the opponent of the prime minister De Villele, but De Villele was too powerful an adversary to be overthrown—he was supported by the most compact and homogeneous majority ever seen in any country—he was indifferent to the deductions of the imagination, inaccessible to those of passion—always present—always calm—his personal prudence was universally admitted—his mind was flexible and fertile in resources—he had fine talents, and a high character—and he exercised an influence over the Chambers and France, which Casimir Perrier always acknowledged and spoke of in terms of respect and sincere admiration." (page 47.)

faction which had carried *all* by force*—the Press, the Chambers, the Tribunals and the Public Offices; and which was every day gaining more ascendancy by the basest intrigues, and most revolting calumnies against the court.

In vain had the King sacrificed his prerogative† to the opposition of the liberal party, by the ordinances of September, 1828, and yielded the Minister Martignac to the exigences of what was called the opinion of France: it was very far from satisfying a faction who dreamt of a Romanized France, with its Brutus and Gracchus, its tribunes and prætors, and was another point gained by the Orleans party, who wished for the Crown at any price. The King was warned too late of the danger menacing his

* The elections of 1827 changed the system of the Government; a new ministry was formed, and the Crown of its own accord appointed it in harmony with the sane and moderate portion of public opinion. The Viscount de Martignac was a man of a million; his eloquence, his good faith, his virtue, his sincerity, his attachment to his Prince, and yet his love of rational liberty, pointed him out as *the man* of the Epoch; but the opposition dealt unfairly with him; instead of rallying round him they deserted him, instead of seconding they attacked him; in fact the opposition to all the acts of the Crown and Ministers was an opposition *de système*, and nothing short of conspiracy.

† An immense fault, and whose consequences have been too plainly foreseen by many. See on this subject *La Quotidienne*, and *La Gazette de France*.

throne, and a new and more violent opposition in the Chambers obliged him to recall his last act of free will and energy. The nomination of Polignac as minister, was the result.*

* "The Polignac administration was not an isolated event; after three years of concession the opposition had become audaciously *anti-monarchical* and impudently Revolutionary; and as to the nature of the opposition in general, the fact cannot be doubted, the cry *La Charte, toute la Charte, et rien que la Charte*, was jesuitical and false—the chiefs of the opposition have since admitted it. This cry was raised in order that France might not be alarmed. If France had had an idea that a Revolution and *change of dynasty had been intended*, the opposition would not have had a single representative in the Chamber even in 1827, but the Chamber of 1828 acted most unworthily, and the opposition most dishonestly. The commercial and departemental laws of 1828, which the Chamber would not pass as proposed by the Government, were the greatest concessions ever made by any monarchical government to any people. Such an opposition we call disgraceful. It was senseless—unprincipled, and anarchical—it alarmed the throne, disturbed the country, and agitated the whole of Europe. Well might M. de Martignac exclaim 'We march in the midst of anarchy!!!' What was to be done? to make further concessions was impossible—to withdraw those which were made would be imprudent—yet something must be done—The Government could not remain stationary—a return to a counter-Revolution was looked for as a remedy—and the Polignac administration was named."

It is worthy of remark here, that the Publication from which we have made these extracts is one of those which with all the English press has played the part of eulogists of the

The Prince de Polignac, a name most unpopular in France at that time—a man ill calculated to undertake, under existing circumstances, the reins of government—M. de Polignac, a worthy man, of noble and elevated character, calumniated by the press, represented to the mob as an enemy to France, as a man devoted to England,—Polignac, whose soul was too noble and generous to care for such calumnies, too upright and gentleman-like to suspect, under the cajoleries of which he was the object, the most cowardly trickery, refused, with his royal master, to believe in the existence of the Orleans faction, whose wily chief disguised his perfidious designs by giving a succession of splendid fêtes, whilst, serpent-like, he appeared to creep under the very feet of the old King.*

Revolution of July. This article was written in honour of Casimir Perrier, the founder and greatest supporter of the Orleans dynasty. If thus speak the friends and admirers of this Revolution, surely it is no marvel, if others who were not deceived as to the rise and progress of that secret plot which undermined the throne of the reigning monarch, have asserted that the most disgusting page in the history of France, will be that which contains the life of Louis Philippe Egalité, Aide de Camp de Dumouriez, then General Egalité, then Duc d'Orleans, now King of the French.

* I recal here a circumstance which perhaps will not have been forgotten by some of the persons who may read these

In appointing Polignac Minister, the intention of the monarch was good. Let us render justice to what was noble in the King's design, wishing, as he did, to reassure the class of pure royalists, many of whom being adverse to the concessions already made to the revolutionary

pages. It occurred at a fête given by the Duc d'Orleans to the Queen of Naples, when she came to Paris, which was attended by the whole court, and in splendour was truly worthy of the royal guests. To this fête a great number of the partizans of the Duc d'Orleans were invited; also many young officers and other persons about the Court, who may recollect that when the old King arrived, the caresses and marked attentions bestowed on him by the Duc d'Orleans brought smiles on the countenances of many. A group, composed I think of M. Garnier, Pajés, Odillon Barrot, and Le Mlle. Maison, or Le Mal. Gerard, were directly dos-à-dos to three or four officers with whom I was conversing. "Look at the cringing manner of the Duke to the old King," said one of our party. "The serpent!" replied another; "he wishes to hide with flowers the scaffold to which he has already doomed his victim."

One of our neighbours, M. Odillon Barrot, I believe, turned his head and looked at each of us. Our words had been overheard, and were repeated and commented upon with more or less exactness, and the next day the subject was fully discussed among the military stationed at the Chateau. I do not fear a refutation of all this from the friends of Louis Philippe, for at this time there is not a thinking man who has not formed his opinion of the King of the French, from the manner in which he has fulfilled his promises to France, the ingratitude with which he has repaid the sacrifices and devo-

party, were thrown into a sort of opposition to the late minister Martignac. Yes, we must say, with entire conviction, that the idea of the old King was noble and courageous; his intention good and well conceived, but the means employed to carry it into effect were bad. For this purpose a man was wanted with all the profound policy of M. de Villele, the activity and astuteness of Talleyrand, the renown of Bellune or Moroy—a man whose name would have been a rallying point for those who remained faithful to the throne, and whose military reputation would have inspired the army, whose voice would have ensured obedience, and whose energy repressed mutiny, and silenced the most cautious calumniators. In one word, such a man was wanted as France could not produce—M. de Polignac was dismissed.

Two months had sufficed for Marshal Bormont, not only to plant the standard of France on the mosques of Algiers, but to establish there a colony, whose prosperity attested the wise and prudent institutions founded by this great man, at once soldier and legislator. The

tion of those men who placed the crown on his head, and the crooked and false diplomacy which he displays every day; all this has been sufficient to open the eyes of the most incredulous.

name of Bourmont had indeed given strength and confidence to the army, which till then had pursued only one line of policy—glory. Bourmont had just added to its laurels, by avenging, in a campaign as brilliant as well conducted, the honor of France, and he became the pride and admiration of the military. He was now a dangerous man, and must be made unpopular, be put on one side, be prevented from returning to the War Office, and perhaps becoming the head of it. Bourmont was now a man who must be crushed at all risks.* It was done.

* Let us see what means were employed to gain this end! The most disgusting calumnies invented, and repeated every day by the Revolutionary Press, and spread by the secret societies, soon became current among the people. The army was but slightly tainted, for the good sense of the soldiers repelled them. Bourmont was represented in the stupid columns of "Le Constitutionnel" a perjurer to military honour, and a traitor to Napoleon. The disastrous affair of Waterloo was recalled and misrepresented in the most absurd manner, and Bourmont became the object of almost general dissatisfaction, because he was described as one of the causes of the loss of that battle in which the national honour had suffered so much. The witty Journal du Commerce, the still more witty "Corsaire," and other *honourable* publications, evinced an absurd enmity against the man whom the Orleans faction so much feared—Bourmont was not summoned for the *grand coup* of the ordinances—If he had been near the King, when the cry of Revolt was first heard; and if he had commanded the guards during the three days' resistance to the

After this exposé we may conclude that the ordinances of July were only the inevitable consequence of the position in which the revolutionary party had placed the government of Charles X.*

drunken and furious mob of Paris, events might doubtless have taken a different turn—because he possessed the affection of the army—because there a man of intellect and energy might have organized not only a system of defence, but of attack, which would have prevented the defection of the line—and the Orleans faction, whose courageous friends remained so quietly in their homes, whilst the people were being killed in the cause of Louis Philippe, the Orleans faction, I repeat, would have been vanquished—and Marshal Bourmont might have saved the reigning dynasty, the throne, and France; because the army belonged to France, to the throne, and above all to its oath, and consequently its honour.

Marshal Bourmont was then a man who must be sacrificed—and he has been so—and the Government of July will always bear the shame of having persecuted, even in misfortune, the man who had shed his own blood and that of his relatives for the glory of France.

Shame—thrice shame to the power that deprived a faithful and victorious soldier of his rank, of his fortune, and his country.

* The avowal of the Revolutionists of their efforts to overthrow the eldest branch of Royalty, will remain in History as a document of the turpitude and hypocrisy which during fifteen years have characterized the acts of this party. See on this subject the curious revelations contained in the Nos. de la Tribune de 9bre et 10bre 1830.

The carelessness of ministers, which alone occasioned the defeat of government in the struggle of July, has made the ordinances* appear, not as they were foolishly called, a violation of the

* We will on the subject of the Ordinances give another extract from Blackwood's Magazine, page 49.

"The opposition even to the creation of that Cabinet (Polignac) was mad, monstrous, revolutionary; no professions were attended to—no assurances were regarded—no measures were examined—no proclamations were even read; but one deep tremendous howl was set up by the press, the schools, the academies of law and medicine, and the opposition deputies, and 'Down with the Polignac administration!' was the order of the day. What was to be done? The Throne said 'I have a right to name my own Ministers.' The Ministers said 'Wait and examine our acts.' The opposition said 'N'importe, n'importe! à bas le Ministère!' and Charles X. dissolved the Chamber, and appealed to the electoral colleges!

"The Chamber met with a more hostile opposition than before. A majority of forty voted an insolent address to the King—it was an infringement on the Royal authority—a direct and palpable infringement. The Chamber was dissolved again. The same men were returned—associations had been formed by the opposition, of an illegal character, some to controul the elections, others to refuse the payment of taxes, all with the effect of putting a stop to the legal proceedings of the various administrations. 'What was to be done?' The Charta of 1814 contained a special article which provided that in "*special cases and to meet special difficulties, the Charta might be SUSPENDED by the Throne.*" No article proved more clearly than this, that the Charta was essentially *Monarchical*. The

Charta, but a coup d'État, as ridiculous as unmeaning. Supported by 50,000 bayonets, and crowned with success, it would have been considered in the history of governments, as a stroke of high and effective policy.

King now felt that a temporary suspension must take place, but we know that we assert an historical truth when we declare that Charles X. had no intention of permanently suspending it.

So the ordinances of July 1830, were made in virtue of a direct special and positive clause of the Charta of 1814, and they were made with no other intention than that of meeting a pressing and growing evil, which threatened the total overthrow of the French monarchy."

Review of Casimir Perrier's *Political Life*, *page* 49.

CHAPTER II.

25th of July—Signature of the Ordonnances—Their publication—Letters of Convocation to the Chambers—26th of July—Commencement of the Insurrection—the Journal *Le Régénérateur*—27th of July—Protestations of the Journals—The seizure of the Presses—More alarming character of the Insurrection—The workmen from the Shops, the Printing Offices and Manufactories—The Suburbs—M. Ternaux—Distribution of arms at M. Dupin's—M. Audry de Puiravault—First shot by an Englishman, Mr. Fox—State of the Troops and Garrisons of Paris—Errors of the authorities—Defection of the Line—Massacre of the Gendarmes—The Staff.

On Saturday, the 25th of July, at four o'clock in the evening, the King being then at St. Cloud, the ordinances were signed. It was not the intention of government to have promulgated them till after the opening of the Chambers, and the most inviolable secrecy should have been preserved: instead of which a note,

written in pencil, announced the event to M. Cassimir Perrier, two hours after the King's signature had been affixed to them; and the next day (Monday) the Ordonnances were published in the *Moniteur*.

Letters of convocation had been dispatched to members of the two Chambers on Saturday, the 24th—thirty hours *before* the signature of the ordonnances; yet, notwithstanding this, it was asserted by all the journals, and several of the deputies have since repeated it, "that the king intended in future to govern by ordonnances."*

July 26th.

The Ordonnances were this day published, and were prefaced by an admirable report upon the state of France, written by the Garde des Sceaux, (M. de Chantelauze). The news rooms of the journal were assailed all day by anxious crowds; persons reading aloud could scarcely satisfy the eagerness of those who remained outside the doors, and in the street. Throughout the day the people gathered themselves into knots in the several streets, discussed, with the

* This accusation, equally absurd as false, falls of itself before a fact of which each Deputy had the actual proof in his own hands.

greatest earnestness, the present state of affairs; and their numbers augmented every moment, stimulated as they were by the inflammatory speeches of orators, * who were appropriated to particular districts, and who roused the spirit of the multitude to the highest pitch of excitement. Agitation increased every hour, and in the evening shewed itself decidedly in the Tuilleries. At ten o'clock, a transparency of the most exciting description, placed over the door of the *Régénérateur* † in the Palais Royal, gave rise to the first riots. It was like the electric spark, which gives the shock. The gendarmes arrived, but not in sufficient numbers, and they were soon dispersed and partly disarmed; they offered little or no resistance—their orders having been “that there should be no blood shed.”

* It would fill a volume if we mentioned all the absurdities detailed to the people by these Orators. I will relate only one fact, of the truth of which I have been assured by an honest carpenter. The Rienzi of the district, mounted upon a post, told them that the King and his Ministers intended, after having destroyed Paris, to send all the poor inhabitants of the Faubourgs to work at the chains, with the galley slaves of Toulon and Brest.

† This Journal, the *Régénérateur*, was edited by M. le Marquis de Chabannes, whose numerous family had been indebted to the King during fifteen years, for incessant benefits and kindnesses conferred upon them.

: During the night, immense masses of people assembled in the streets adjacent to the Tuileries, and the Palais Royal, and many of the street lamps were broken.

July 27th.

The morning of the 27th discovered the devastations committed during the night. Crowds more numerous and more tumultuous, collected in every quarter, in defiance of the Ordonnances. All the opposition journals were printed by six in the morning, and it may be said that their distribution was gratuitous; they were given to all who wished for them. They contained protestations more or less energetic against (what they called) "the violation of the laws and of the Charta." The multitude eagerly devoured them, the orators commented upon them, and agitation increased. These protestations, printed upon single sheets, were distributed everywhere, thrown into the courts, pushed under the doors of houses, and in a short time inflammatory placards in large letters were posted up at the corners of all the streets. One of the keepers of the Palais Royal, having snatched a leaf of the journal (*Le National*) from the hands of a young man, who, mounted upon a chair, was reading

it aloud, the most violent and menacing words were uttered by the populace. During this time, the authorities were not inactive; their agents, dispersed in all directions, informed them of what was passing, and imagined that the assuming a bold and determined attitude would suffice to overawe a manifestation of the people, which did not appear to them to be general. Detachments of gendarmes were sent to the principal points, and an order was given to seize the presses of those journals which had protested; but having been prepared for this, they refused to submit to the orders of the Commissaries of Police, who were, therefore, under the necessity of taking with them an armed force to effect their object. The presses were then seized and taken away, without any resistance being offered, but the crowds became more numerous and more menacing. The doors of the different offices were soon invaded by vast crowds, and the line and the gendarmes had much difficulty in defending them. The printers and manufacturers having by common consent shut their shops and factories, and dismissed their workmen, all this mass of people, who were hired and kept in pay, added greatly to the confusion. Intimation of what was passing having also been sent to the manufactories in the suburbs, and

environs, with instructions to the same effect; at the end of a few hours, all the unemployed hands, and many who only pretended to be so, thronged the streets and increased the tumult.* It appeared as if a magician's wand had caused this immense population of 100,000 souls (from a distance of thirty miles) to flow into Paris, and join with the worthless rabble of the Faubourgs in spreading terror through that devoted city. Towards five o'clock in the evening, the populace having overturned an omnibus, the first barricade was erected at the Barrier of the Sergeants, Rue St. Honoré. The magazines of arms were pillaged, and muskets and powder distributed to the people. Already at different stations a regular distribution of arms, cartridges and articles of equipment had taken place, especially in the Rue Coq Héron; and at the house of † M. Dupin, (Le Sauveur) upwards of eight hundred muskets had been given to the people in less than an hour. M. Audrey de Puiravault (En-

* M. Ternaux from his own manufactories dismissed 800 of his workmen, telling them that he had neither work to give them or money to pay them, and that they would find employment in Paris, at ten francs a day.

† At this present time President of the Council of Deputies, and one of the most celebrated *Pantins* of the epoch.

trepreneur des Roulages and member of the Chamber of Deputies,)* had employed his stage waggons, during many days, in conveying into Paris an enormous quantity of arms and ammunition, furnished by the Committee of the Provinces, and distributed on this day to the population of the Faubourg St. Antoine, who like a horde of cannibals, are always ready to fall upon Paris, when there are crimes to be committed, or blood to be shed.

The armorers of the Quai de la Feraille furnished arms (*bon gré, malgré*) to the inhabitants of the quarters of the Grève, so that upon all points the insurgents appeared well provided with military equipments. The garrison in Paris was under arms; the garde, animated by the best spirit, waited only for orders; but the authorities, dismayed at the position in which they found themselves placed, hesitated, and appeared unwilling to commence a struggle, the result of which they felt to be doubtful. This hesitation, under the circumstances, was considered as a proof of weakness; and by giving to the insurgents time to organize themselves had the most

* A short time after, he became a Bankrupt, which was the case with many of the best friends of Louis Philippe D' Orleans, who has however since shut his doors against him as well as others.

fatal consequences. It was about half-past six, when, according to the orders of the Marechal Duc de Raguse, the last detachment of the garde left their cantonments to occupy the following positions. The infantry deployed upon the Boulevards. The 1st of the cuirassiers of the garde, at the Elephant. Two squadrons of lancers, and one battery of artillery were stationed upon the Place Louis XV. Two other squadrons of lancers, and the gendarmes d'élite, upon the Place du Carousel, guarding the approach to the Château upon this side. Prior to these distributions, all the posts of the Tuilleries, with the reserve, had been reinforced.

Towards seven o'clock, the first shots were heard.* it was the signal for that horrible struggle, which cost the lives of more than three thousand Frenchmen, and which was only

* There must be satisfaction to the heart of every Frenchman in knowing that the first shot which caused blood to flow, was not directed by the hand of one of his own countrymen; it was an Englishman, who from behind a window in a room of the hotel which he inhabited, in the Rue St. Honoré, near L'Eglise St. Rock, fired upon a small detachment of the Garde; his two first shots brought down two men, but at the moment when his servant presented him with another loaded musket (for the sake of expedition he had a loader) he was struck by a shot aimed by one of the garde, who thus put an end to his devotion for the cause of Liberty, of which he had taken this method of proving his sincerity.

ended by the exile, and loss of a throne, to a family who had swayed the sceptre of France during a period of nine hundred years.

The artillery was imprudently advanced loaded only with blank cartridge. The batteries de service had left the *Pare* (l'Ecole Militaire) having only three balls and cartridges in their chests. In proportion as the night advanced, the conflict became more determined; on the part of the Government, it was sustained only by the garde, the line having refused from the first to take any part in the engagement.* At ten o'clock at night the firing was terrible upon the right bank of the Seine, and barricades had been made in many places. The authorities then became aware how severe this struggle would be for which they found themselves totally unprepared; they thought of the regiments of

* It is certain that the troops of the line had been animated by the best feeling up to the time of the promulgation of the ordonnances; but when they witnessed the hesitation on the part of the authorities, and found that they were left at the most critical moment without orders, they yielded to a spirit of insubordination, and joined the people.

The troops of the line, who by their oath belonged equally with the garde to the crown, refused to defend it when in danger. We will allow twenty years to elapse, and posterity will judge of their actions.

the garde out of Paris, and orders were sent to them ; but it was not till the night that the officers of the staff charged with these dispatches set out to take them. *It was then too late.* The Insurgents had established posts at the different barriers, and it was not easy to pass them ; consequently all the orders arrived late, and the greatest number of them never reached their destination at all—those intended for the hussars in garrison at Provins were of this latter number ; those for the chasseurs at Melun did not arrive till four o'clock in the evening ; * it was the

* To prove the falsehood of the gross exaggerations which have been stated upon the subject of the Forces opposed to the people, it is necessary to give an exact account of the troops which Le Marechal commanding in Paris had at his disposal on the morning of the 27th of July.

The Garrison of Paris was composed of 3 Regiments of the line, the 5th, 50th, and 53rd. 3 Battalions of 500 men each 4500
2 Battalions of the 15th light Infantry 1000

Total of the Line 5500

The Gendarmerie, as well foot as horse, about . . . 1500

The Royal Guard then on service in Paris, was only composed of two Regiments, the 3rd and 6th.

Infantry 3000
2 Battalions of the 1st Regiment Swiss . . . 1000

same with the other regiments, who were ready

1 Regiment of the 1st Cuirassiers	.	.	400
4 Squadrons of Lancers	.	.	300
8 Pieces of Artillery	.	.	200
Total			4900

Recapitulation.

The Regiments of the line and Gendarmerie	.	7000
Infantry of the Guard and Cavalry	.	4900
Total		11,900

Of the 4 Regiments of Infantry of the line who were mentioned above, 2 of them had been garrisoned in Paris for more than two years. During this time their ranks had been filled up by conscripts who were almost all Parisian; the non-commissioned and a great many of the other officers had formed attachments in the town, and as well as the soldiers might almost be called part of its population; and the colonels, foreseeing what would probably happen in case there should be a collision between the government and the people, had requested that they might be sent out of Paris. One of the Colonels, M. de Collavier Dalbisi, had said that he could only be answerable for his regiment, if they were to act under his own immediate orders, and en masse; but that if they were employed in detachments he could not rely upon them. Unfortunately the authorities paid no attention to this advice, and the two 1st Regiments, the 5th and 50th, were kept in their quarters, while the 3rd and 55th being divided into detachments, had no sooner lost sight of their brave colonel, than they left their stations and joined the people. This was

to mount their horses, and only waited for orders* which never arrived.

not the case with the Gendarmerie; the 1500 men of whom it was composed suffered much from the animosity of the people, and we only render justice, and speak the truth in saying, that upon this trying occasion, they proved their fidelity, and united clemency with bravery.

The nature of their service requiring that they should be placed in small detachments through the whole extent of the town, they were more exposed than any other corps to the vengeance and brutality of the people, who considered them in the light of assistants to the police, and blind agents of the Government. On the evening of the 27th, their Station Houses were invaded by the mob, who when they met with resistance, set fire to them; and those of the Gendarmes who, to escape the flames, came and laid down their arms, were inhumanly butchered by these hordes of savages, who call themselves "The great and generous people." Many perished in this manner, and many in the flames—several made the attempt and succeeded in joining the regiments of the Garde, owing their safety to the humanity of some of the assailants, who assisted them to disguise themselves.

* It must be said that during these events the conduct of the Staff was most extraordinary. Since the 27th, all the officers attached to the Place de Paris, had removed from the Hotel of the Staff in the Place Vendôme. Several of them were seen who had cut off their moustaches, and the greatest number of them (to their shame be it spoken) had taken off their uniforms, to wear the plain clothes of the citizens; it was done under the pretext of being able to pass with greater facility through the streets for the communication of orders. The result of all this was, that by the defection of the line

(from whatever causes it may have arisen) an effective force of 4500 men failed in the hour of need, and at the commencement of the struggle with the people, another effective force had been also rendered useless, by disarming the Gendarmes and Veterans; and lastly, another force of 1300 men, were employed for the defence of Paris alone, for the ordinary service of the Garde, and for the King's Houses at St. Cloud, Bagatelle, Trianon, &c., &c. This reduces the total number of men who remained under the orders of the Mareschal, and who took a really active part in the attempt to quell the revolt, to 4500 men, Infantry and Cavalry, with 12 pieces of Artillery. In pausing to consider all these circumstances, we shall not be astonished at the struggle being so short and yet so sanguinary. For we are not afraid of asserting that it inflicted upon the population of Paris a loss of 25,000 men.

CHAPTER III.

28th July.—Loss of time—Revolutionary Committee at the house of M. Audry de Puiravault—Deputation to St. Cloud—Messrs. de Semourville and d'Argont—Revocation of the Ordonnances—The Duc de Mortemart—Mystification—*Il est trop tard*—Capture of the powder-magazine of La Manutention, and of the Telegraphs—The Musée d'Artillerie—Regular organization of the Insurgents—Uniform of the National Guard—The barricades—General massacre—Ecole Polytechnique—The mails and diligences are dispatched with the tricolor flag—Lying Proclamations.

Wednesday, July 28th.

By day-break the streets were filled with people, and numerous barricades had been erected. The insurgents were without powder, and several hours passed, during which both parties remained inactive. As the weakness of the authorities became apparent, the spirits of the people rose, and they began to look forward with confidence to the result of the struggle.

It was at this time that a Committee, composed of influential men of the Orleans party, were assembled at the house of M. Audrey de Puiravault, in order to give to the revolt a direction, in conformity with their projects, and ensure, by cautious and well-directed measures, that success on which they did not yet dare to calculate. A deputation was sent to the Tuileries to demand, it was said, the dismissal of the Ministers; but it was, in reality, only a pretext to gain time, that they might appoint those men as leaders to the people, who would organize them on a more definite and regular footing; and, in fact, from this time, a few in uniforms of the National Guard were seen in the streets and at the barricades. The powder magazine of the arsenal, defended by eight men and a sergeant, was taken, * and regular distributions of ammunition were made on all sides. La Manutention, or magazine of provisions, guarded only by a corporal and four men, fell

* One Battalion of the line, stationed near the house of the banker Lafitte, was gained over to the side of the people solely by the provisions which they brought to them. The troops had been without rations for nearly 20 hours—we can here assert on the testimony of one worthy of belief that money was offered to the soldiers. We are ignorant whether it was accepted or not, but for the honour of the regiment, we say—No!

also into the power of the insurgents ; and this circumstance was fatal to the government, by placing in the hands of the populace the provisions which they carried to the regiments of the line, who were suffering from hunger, and having been without rations for twenty-four hours, the soldiers soon quitted their ranks to mix with the people. * The equipments of the insurgents were also considerably augmented by the capture of the Musée d'Artillerie, which contained more than six thousand muskets. The companies of veterans, quartered in the most populous districts, had been obliged to lay down their arms to avoid the fate of the unfortunate gendarmes. Reinforced by these different causes, the insurgents showed themselves to the number of 40,000 men, well armed, and provided with

* Till the capture of La Manutention, and even later, it is a difficult and delicate task to explain the conduct of M.M. the Commissaries of War ; it is certain that the troops were left in the most complete neglect as to provisions and rations. I venture to affirm that not one of these Commissaries gave any proof of existence during the three days' struggle ; not one precaution was taken to defend the magazines from the attacks of the insurgents ; and in the retreat, only one was at his post—that one was M. Weyler de Havas, of the King's Household. I can also declare, without fear of being contradicted, that at Rambouillet one of the colonels was obliged to perform the functions of Commissary of War.

ammunition. It was then that the appointed leaders put themselves at the head of their respective divisions—it was then that officers of the old army, colonels, and even one general,* were seen, dressed in their uniforms, not ashamed of directing the efforts of these hordes of brigands. Twenty-five young pupils of the Ecole Polytechnique joined them; they were received with acclamations by the multitude, and Paris was, from that moment, nothing but one vast and continued field of strife and bloodshed. We have said that three members deputed by the revolutionary committee † had been to the Tuilleries to demand the dismissal of the Ministers, and the revocation of the Ordonnances. This having been immediately communicated to the King, and M.M. de Semourville and d'Argout, having, in the name of the Chamber of Peers, been to St. Cloud, with the same demand, the Ordonnances were recalled, the Ministers dismissed, and M. le Duc de Mortemart en-

* Yes! we cry shame upon those officers who disgraced their uniforms by putting themselves at the head of the insurrection, and above all on M. le General du Bourg.

† It was M.M. Dupin (Le Sauveur), Lafitte, and Cassimir Perrier: the first is still at the height of his power; the second has paid dearly for his devotion to the best of republics; and the third—peace to his ashes!

trusted to form a new administration ;* but they were then told *it was too late*. Early the next morning the 2nd grenadiers, the only regiment in garrison at Versailles, marched into Paris, and also the 4th infantry of the guard. The grenadiers, on their arrival, formed on the Quai du Louvre; but towards noon received an order to fetch and escort the artillery from Vincennes: the two batteries de service had been till then the only ones employed against the insurgents †; it was with the greatest difficulty that this regiment was able to leave Paris, the barricades being guarded by strong detachments

* M. le Duc de Mortemart was (it is not known how) leader of the third party in the Chamber of Peers, to which had been given the name *Pointus*. It was supposed that in consequence of the political station he had occupied for so long a time, and being considered by all parties as a moderate royalist, he would be able to calm the minds of the people, and arrest the progress of the insurrection—the three deputies from the Committee had said this, and had even pledged themselves to the King to this effect. But the drama had begun, every thing went on admirably, and it was certain the plot would be successful. The poor Duc de Mortemart found himself in the first rank of the mystified; and many others as well as himself will call to mind this memorable answer of the M.M. of the Committee—“*Il est trop tard !*”

† Of these two batteries, half of one was sent to protect the King at St. Cloud; there remained then only one-and-a-half.

of the insurgents : it received many shots, and was obliged to cross the Seine at Choisy le Roi. This column, with the reinforcement which was expected, did not rejoin the other troops till the next day, the 29th, at the gate of the Bois de Boulogne, when all was lost, and the guard in full retreat. The insurgents, now masters of nearly all the most important posts, organized with as much regularity as possible, provided with arms, and abundantly furnished with ammunition, were becoming every moment more formidable. From the houses of which they had taken possession, a murderous shower of stones and other destructive missiles were hurled on our troops. From all the windows behind which they sheltered themselves, cowards assassinated our unhappy soldiers, whose ranks were mowed down by the incessant fire of their concealed foes. In vain was it that they took forcible possession of several of these houses, and in their indignant fury massacred without distinction the innocent and guilty. In vain their courage overthrew every obstacle opposed to it; in vain barricades and assailants alike disappeared before it—all was unavailing. Scarcely had one barricade been destroyed ere another was constructed, under shelter of which the insurgents kept up a running fire. The column which we had just

broke through, was supported by another, from which a shower of balls scattered death throughout our ranks, and our soldiers fell in immense numbers; and, horrible to relate, those who were only wounded, and in whom a little life still remained, were inhumanly massacred by women and children. * The cavalry, distributed by detachments, was arrested at every moment by the barricades, and by heaps of stonesspread hereand there; it could not act, and men and horses were exposed to an almost certain death. † Great is the honour due to them

* It is but justice to say, that although a great number of horrible acts of barbarity were committed, many of our soldiers owed their lives to the generous interposition of persons who are an honour to humanity. Great numbers of our wounded soldiers were withdrawn from the crowd and taken into the houses, where the most tender care was lavished on them; others having been made prisoners and upon the point of being massacred, were claimed as brothers and friends by people to whom they were strangers, and who furnished them with disguises to enable them to escape from the fury of the people.

† It is with grief that I add that amongst the missiles with which our soldiers were assailed, the most horrible of all, sulphuric acid, was thrown from a house in the Rue St. Anne on one of the detachments; three of our unfortunate soldiers who were struck by it, suffered martyrdom, being burnt from head to foot: one of them died at the end of two hours in the most excruciating torments.

for the courage and discipline which they displayed ; neither one or other failed them in that dreadful struggle. On all sides, in almost every district, on the Boulevards, at the gate of St. Denys, on the Place des Victoires, and in the streets adjacent, there was the same dreadful sight—death in all its most hideous forms, with every accompaniment that could encrease its horror. The son fell by the hand of his father, brother was opposed to brother, friend to friend, in this unnatural struggle. Already the insurgents were masters of the barriers, and access either in or out was denied to all—but towards five o'clock in the evening, when the victory was certain, and the result might be easily foreseen, the mails and messageries, surmounted by tricolor flags, filled with agents of the Orleaniste Committee, were dispatched to the provinces, loaded with Journals, Proclamations, and the orders of the day, which the agents distributed on all the roads.

Although the whole line of Telegraphs had been in the power of the insurgents since the morning, they had not been able to make use of them ; consequently no intelligence had been conveyed to the provinces, and the civil and military authorities were almost entirely ignorant of what was passing in Paris. The Orleaniste

Committee had foreseen this—but as it was necessary also to excite a revolution in the provinces, agents were sent to distribute the Journals and lying proclamations,* and they were successful beyond their most sanguine expectations. (It was thus the Messageries Lafitte and Cail- laird who effected the revolution in the provinces.) In these proclamations it was asserted that the Royal family were flying towards Belgium, that la garde was destroyed, and that a Committee, composed of men who had the confidence of the people, and who were devoted to their country,

* It has been said that on the morning of the 27th, an armed force had taken away or destroyed all the presses. How then could these immense numbers of Journals and Proclamations have been printed, which were dispatched by the messageries Lafitte and Callaird; they must either have been printed beforehand, or by secret presses, the royal press not having fallen into the hands of the insurgents till after the departure of these messageries. We should be very glad if any one would explain to us, from whence proceeded these proclamations, which since the morning had been affixed to the corners of the streets, and had been distributed throughout the day in such profusion to the populace, that they were made use of to charge the muskets. How cunning soever these gentlemen may have been, and however audacious they may be now, in denying that anything had been prepared, and in repeating that the revolution was unpremeditated, the facts which we have stated give them the lie direct.

watched over the interests and destinies of France.

At ten o'clock at night the streets were crowded by waggons employed in carrying away the dead bodies which encumbered them. The firing had entirely ceased, but both parties being resolved on defending the positions which they occupied, did not neglect any means of security. The silence of night soon added to the horror of the scene, which displayed this beautiful and majestic city devastated by civil war, and almost overflowing with the blood of her children.

CHAPTER IV.

29th July.—The Insurrection is well organised—Depôts of ammunition established in various parts of Paris—The army is reinforced by Dragoons and Chasseurs of the Guard—Report of an armistice—Renewal of hostilities—Horrible affray at the Hotel de Ville—The Guards are repulsed—Capture of the Louvre and the Tuilleries—A retreat is ordered—Dangerous position and brave conduct of a detachment of de la Garde—Chaillot—Les Champs Elysees—Le Pont de Neuilly—Example given by the brave pupils of the School of St. Cyr—The Military authorities commit one fault after another—Le Pont de Sèvres falls into the hands of the insurgents—Terrible night—An attack attempted, to repulse which no measures were taken.

29th July.

THE whole night of Wednesday 28th, had been employed by the Insurgents in new preparations for the fight which was to recommence with the day of the 29th. The Revolutionary Committee had not remained inactive—measures well concerted, and executed without delay, had

been taken for the removal of the dead from streets and houses that were blocked up with their remains. — Dépôts of cannon ball and cartridge from the Powder Magazine of Essonne* were established in different quarters in order to render their distribution more easy, and to avoid loss of time.—Leaders were appointed to command the guard of the conquered positions, and nothing was neglected that could ensure the triumph (already too certain) of the Insurrection.

On our side everything remained in the same state. The military authorities had not adopted any plan of attack or defence, and it appeared that during the past night they had not dared to act. We had, nevertheless, received a reinforcement of two regiments, viz., Dragoons

* The powder magazine of Essonne, which might during eight days have been defended against every attack, by a garrison of sixty or eighty men, had been left to the sole care of eight or ten workmen and old men, who, on the first demand, opened the doors to the people. In their eagerness to draw out the powder, the insurgents took so few precautions that it must be considered an interposition of Providence that no explosion ensued.

Instead of forms, observed with the strictest severity, in removing the powder, it was put like flour into sacks, and thus arriving at Paris was taken and left, without the least care, in dépôts established during the night for its occupation.

and Chasseurs of the guard. The terror which their appearance inspired in the Parisians entrusted with the defence of the Barriers, made them soon allow these troops to pass; but it was not without great difficulty that they could get to the Marshal, as the streets were all closed by strong barricades, fortunately only defended at this moment by children and drunken women, conversing by the light of fires which they had kindled with the wreck of furniture, carriages, arms, &c,—relics of their prowess during the past day. *

* Posterity will scarcely believe how great and active was the part taken in this insurrection by children. Such was the blind excitement of the people that numbers of water-carriers, commissaries de place, and cochers de fiacre, &c. made their children follow them to carry powder and cartridge.

We must say, that never, at any period—no, never—have we seen childhood confronting death and mingling with such courage and indifference amidst the horrors of slaughter, as did thousands of little wretches of ten and fifteen years old, during these three memorable days.

Many of them, armed with guns and pistols which they could scarcely carry, came and discharged them close to our ranks, feeling sure they might do so with impunity. Yes! tell it, to the shame of the people, and tell it, to the honour of the unfortunate and too generous guard, that our soldiers would not fire on them; although le Constitutionnel and other organs of the “best of republics” have dared to throw on us the infamous accusation of having “above all directed our blows against women and children.”

Towards the morning, after several consultations with some superior officers, Marshal Marmont announced that he had given up the partial occupation of different *Points stratégiques*, which he had defended the preceding evening, at a great cost;* and he decided that all the forces should be concentrated for the defence of the Hotel de Ville, of the Louvre, and the Place Louis XV.†

The sun arose with great brilliancy, and announced a day as intensely hot as the preceding; already numerous groups were seen in the streets; a general pre-occupation was visible in every countenance; many appeared equipped with fire arms and abundant ammunition, but not a single shot had as yet been fired.

The rumour of an armistice was spread, no one knew how, from quarter to quarter—it had

* We had lost many of our soldiers on Wednesday, in the Place des Victoires, and the adjoining streets, and the plan for the dispersion of the guard, and of the garrison, was the most defective that could have been adopted.

† In disposing of the forces thus, the marshal extended the front of operation right and left, on the Quays, and the length of the Louvre and Tuilleries, to the Place Louis XV, thus remaining in an advantageous position for the defence of the Tuilleries, and in easy communication with Chaillot, Les Champs Elysées, and St. Cloud.

reached our lines, and each party, silently reckoning the forces of the enemy, seemed to await with impatience the result of negotiations which would either terminate this fearful struggle, or again cause rivers of blood to flow. It was dreadful to analyse the feelings of the people. Horrible words had escaped from them amidst their savage revelries!—great numbers in a state of complete inebriety announced with stupid indifference the loss of brothers, sons, &c., and their menaces of revenge were not the expression of a feeling common to all men—“vengeance,” it was the hope of recompense—it was the vile and ignoble delight of having more money (and talking of this they shewed one another what they had already received)—it was the destruction of order, it was something atrocious, inhuman, infernal!*

On the part of the guard, how different was

* In many of the streets constant distributions of wines and spirits were made, from houses appointed for the purpose, and in others distributions of money took place, the amount being proportioned to the greater or less ferocity evinced by the combatants. A cabriolet driver assured me that himself and comrades had received twenty-five francs a day, and others much more; it is certain that all had become possessed of more or less money, and this accounts for the eagerness with which they rifled the bodies of the dead and dying.

the aspect of things ! You might have read on the countenances of these brave men, the melancholy, yet firm resolve to fulfil to the end their duty horrible though it might be ! “ Alas ! (they exclaimed) are *these* the enemies we must contend against ? ” It was nearly two days since either officers or soldiers had received a single ration of any description ; 4,000 in number, divided into battalions, squadrons and detachments—constantly exposed to the most murderous kind of warfare, that with cowards hidden within their houses, and firing from the shelter of their windows, they had sustained an incessant watch during fourteen mortal hours, and often repulsed an undiminished force, which was constantly renewed by more than sixty thousand men, a force blinded by fury and deaf to danger, excited by drunkenness and the love of plunder—and who were the enemy ? Brothers !! fellow-citizens !!! Frenchmen !!! And when in the evening our ranks were counted over, how many were fallen !! Oh with what happiness we should have heard a cessation of hostilities proclaimed ! with what shouts of joy we should have received the news of a termination to this bloody strife ! *

* Shame ! thrice shame to the men who did not recoil from the horrible and culpable responsibility of purchasing power at the price of a civil war, and by rivers of blood.

It was in the midst of these mournful reveries, that we were recalled to passing events by the noise of a quick firing. It was against the Hotel de Ville (occupied by several companies of Swiss, and a battalion of guards, with some cannon), that the insurgents now poured down their countless masses from all the adjoining streets; they rushed in disorder, and impetuously attacked the Swiss Guard. *

Some pieces of cannon, well directed, assisted them to beat down the front of the hotel, at the same time that an incessant firing carried death into our ranks—in vain our cannon made twice, in the masses of the besiegers, a dreadful void. The murderous balls struck the two armies *à bout portant*—and the bayonet and the sabre were the only weapons employed. Then the error committed by the insurgents was evidently shewn, and the advantage of a disciplined army became apparent. The people were repulsed with considerable loss—repulsed—yes—but not disheartened; fresh combatants replaced those who had fallen—their ranks were formed anew;

* Such was the improvidence of the military authorities that the commandant Bermont, placed to defend the Pont d'Arcole at the head of four hundred men, was soon obliged to retire on the Quais—not one of the men having a cartridge to burn.

and a second attack, not less furious, but better directed than the first, took place; consequently, it was more decisive: a short pause ensued, during which the leaders of the insurrection shewing to the people the dead bodies of their friends, which they were removing to throw into the river, roused their feelings to such a degree of excitement, that their fury knew no bounds.

Some detachments who had got possession of all the houses situated on the place, began to fire from the windows and roofs on our soldiers, who, attacked at once in front, and on the two flanks by a shower of balls, could not long sustain the unequal warfare. In vain were our batteries served, with admirable activity, intelligence and courage. The men were killed at their pieces before they could fire them, and they soon became useless.*

* One of the officers who took part in this horrible affair, assured me that he was at one of the batteries where nine men were successively killed by one individual, who, concealed behind a chimney, dispatched at his ease each artilleryman who succeeded to the service of the piece, and it was not till the ninth man was killed that he was discovered. Several balls were aimed at him in vain, as, finding himself discovered, he remained hid behind three or four chimneys built altogether. One of the artillery-men then aimed his piece at the chimneys, which soon fell, with the unfortunate man, and a part of the roof, crushing in their fall, those who happened to be underneath.

Now the struggle recommenced with the same animosity as before. The people, excited by the cries of the dying, by the vociferations of women and children, attacked the ill-defended pieces of artillery, and took possession of them—a fearful *melée* ensued—and the Swiss battalions, thinned by the shower of balls to which they had been exposed incessantly for half an hour, weakened by so unequal a struggle, after twice repulsing the besiegers by a charge of bayonets as vigorously as nobly executed, retired on the quays and the Louvre, leaving great numbers of their comrades on the field of battle, and having to pass over heaps of slain in effecting their retreat.

Scarcely was the Hotel de Ville in the power of the Insurgents than M. Audry de Puyravault, Mauguin General Dubourg, and several other leaders of the republican party, came to establish themselves there. M. de la Fayette, who joined them soon after, was declared chief of the party—new measures were adopted to render the success of the insurrection more complete. M. M. Odillon Barrot, Lamarque, and others were added to the Committee already formed, and this handful of men organised a kind of Government, who seized on the general direction of affairs. In vain M. le Duc de Mortemart, invested with authority from the King Charles X, made an appeal to the patriotism of M. de la

Fayette and his friends, to appease the revolt, arrest the progress of the insurrection, and stop the effusion of blood. The voice of M. de la Fayette, when presenting to the committee the letter of M. le Duc de Mortemart, was drowned by hisses and yells, and these men, called patriots, only used their influence and the power they had acquired to excite the people more violently to a civil war.

The Insurgents, become stronger in consequence of their successes, thought only of pursuing them—already battalions reinforced by fresh combatants menaced the Louvre—already they threatened also to attack the Tuilleries, and dense masses moved in that direction amidst loud vociferations, mingled with cries of “*A bas les Bourbons!*” “*Vive le Duc d’Orleans!*”—but above all “*Vive le General la Fayette!*” “*Vive la Republique!*”*

* The general opinion has been, is now, and will be, that General La Fayette was outwitted by the too rapid movement of the events of July, and above all, by the turn that men of the real republican party had given to them on this day, Tuesday, 29th. But the good sense of a great majority of the people combatted and repulsed all idea of the re-establishment of a republic; for, verily, if this cry had found an echo, the insurrection, victorious at all points, and chasing before it this day the guards and royal family, might have established whatever it pleased. Our frank and entire conviction of the conduct of M. de la Fayette at the hotel de Ville, this day, is

Whilst events were hastening on with such precipitation in the quarter of the Louvre, the populace had also made immense progress in all the other parts of Paris, and were now masters of the porte St. Martin, St. Denis, and of almost all the Boulevards. The barrack of the Faubourg St. Denis, where two battalions of the 15th were shut up, was surrounded by an imposing mass of the insurgents, who were also in possession of the adjoining streets.

It was at this moment that M. Lafitte was surrounded by twenty of the deputies, who had met to endeavour, as they said, to make an arrangement with the King's Government, by the withdrawal of the Ordinances, and the creation of a

that he did *not* wish for a republic, and we are convinced that in organizing the insurrection, and in lending the authority of his name, and the weight of his popularity to it, his aim was one, and one only, which was effected, viz. the downfall of the eldest branch of the royal family, and the accession to the throne of the house of Orleans. We form this opinion, first, on the instantaneous re-establishment of royalty, contrary to the general opinion of the republican committee, assembled at the hotel de Ville (by making an appeal to the National Guard, M. de la Fayette overthrew at once all idea of a republic). Secondly, the eager manner with which he used his influence to secure the acknowledgement of the Duc d' Orleans at the hotel de Ville, and by the two Chambers, as Lieutenant-general of the kingdom; then, two days afterwards, as Regent; then, at the end of ten days, as "*la Meilleure des Republiques*." Like many others he has been

Ministry composed of M. M. de Mortemart, Casimir Perrier and General Gerard ; but whose aim was no other than to put a curb on the projects of the Republican party, whose influence, every moment encreasing, occasioned them much anxiety, as it might eventually disappoint the Duc d'Orleans of the crown so long coveted, and themselves his good friends, of sinecures so often dreamt of. The events of the next day, the 30th, and the refusal of these same deputies to receive M. de Mortemart, and to assent to the arrangement which he brought, is a very convincing proof of the line of conduct here traced, and the results anticipated.* We may be deceived,

ill repaid—posterity will pass their judgment; let us only say that every where, and in all eras, *gratitude* has not been the prevailing virtue of courts, great or small, and Talleyrand, the Machiavel of the day, calls it folly.

* Since we have termed the revolution “a denouement of the comedy of fifteen years,” let us see how the actors played their parts. The same deputies, who assembled on Tuesday, 29th of July, at M. Lafitte's, expecting to meet there the Duc de Mortemart, and having decided, from fear of the republican party, to accept the conditions proposed by Charles X., were no sooner acquainted with the re-establishment of the National Guard, by the authority of M. de la Fayette, than they resumed their plan; and when, on Friday morning, M. le Duc de Mortemart (to whom they had sent word that they should expect him, and were ready to adopt any arrangement) presented himself at the house of M. Lafitte, they tried to alarm him; they told him his life was in danger—that

but we give this opinion as our full and entire conviction.

We have said that the King's troops, repulsed at the hotel de Ville, had retired on the Louvre, already occupied by a battalion of Swiss ; they were followed there by crowds of Insurgents, who, supporting those secretly introduced into the palace, took possession of the windows, from whence they fired close on the battalion which occupied l'arme au pied the courts of the palace, whose doors and gates only they expected to have guarded.

there were influential persons who demanded his head, &c. ; and M. le General Matthieu Dumas, and M. Bérard (author of the charter of Louis Phillippe) told M. le Duc, that he was come too late. In a word, these hypocrites, in contempt of the laws of the same charter which they reproached Charles X. with having violated—in contempt of their word, and of the mandate with which they were then charged — “That the Chamber of Peers were to be assembled :” (having acknowledged the authority of M. le Duc de Mortemart, and installed him at the palace of Luxembourg) and at the very moment that the courts of justice and administration had reopened to follow their usual course, these hypocrites, seeing the republican party repulsed, availed themselves of the acting force under the disposal of General La Fayette, who marched with them, and proclaimed the Duc d' Orleans Lieutenant-General of the kingdom ; notwithstanding the energetic protestation of the Duc de Mortemart, and of a few peers whose noble and energetic conduct has been before alluded to.

The commander of the battalion, surprised by a fire that came at once from four sides of the quadrangle, and finding himself out-manceuvred by the vigour of this attack, fell back in as good order as circumstances would permit on the Tuilleries, where the Insurgents arrived at the same time, having forced the communication between the Musée of the Louvre and the Tuilleries, by the Pavillon de Flore, now abandoned.

Some shots fired from the windows of this gallery into the Cour du Carrousel, threw into utter disorder a squadron of the 1st Grenadiers, all of whom were mounted on young horses, that for the first time I believe heard the report of a gun ; and it became so impossible to rally them that a retreat was ordered through the gardens, before any resistance had been made. The insurrection gained ground at the same time on the left bank of the Seine, and the fire became more murderous in the Rue de Rivoli, the Rue Royale, and the Rue de Bourgogne.*

* The first balls that reached us in the Rue de Bourgogne, were fired from the windows of the hotel forming the corner, and occupied by the *Count Lobeau*, cidevant general Monton, and now *Mareschal Count Lobeau, pair de Louis Philippe*—the same Lobeau who, some months afterwards, acting against the Parisians assembled on the Place Vendôme, to render honour to the manes of Napoleon, dispersed them with the fire engine.

A shower of balls fell on our ranks, who, pressed on all sides, attacked from all points, and failing almost entirely in ammunition, could only oppose a partial and interrupted resistance to the more vigorous attacks and constantly increasing strength of the insurrection. The position was not tenable; Marshal Marmont was aware of it, and ordered a retreat, which was commenced in admirable order notwithstanding the difficulties that presented themselves at every step.

The diamonds of the crown, (secured before the occupation of the Tuilleries) as well as the casket of the King, were sent to St. Cloud, under an escort of cavalry; and the Marshal, to secure the two routes* that led there by the right bank of the river, or at least to relieve the regiment of Dragoons, who having been unable to make their way excepting through the

* They might as well have allowed the good people to take them, as the King sent them back two days after, with all the money of the private revenues—an example which we are convinced will not be followed, under similar circumstances, by his good cousin Louis Phillippe d'Orleans, who has always taken good care of his own affairs. Charles X only kept for his private purse 10,000 francs, or £420 sterling—thus the want of money was so much felt at Rambouillet, some days afterwards, that it became necessary to sell some plate.

Champ de Mars, and the Pont d' Jena, were, it was said, surrounded in Chaillot,* sent to their rescue.

The order was given to General St. Charmans, to march on this point with a battalion of 1st infantry, the regiments of Chasseurs à Cheval, and two pieces of artillery. This movement was become so much the more essential, as the people were already masters of Le gros Caillon, and of the military school, which they had pillaged, and since the morning numerous barricades had been established at Chaillot and at Passy. On this side the river *all* was in the power of the Insurgents, excepting the Hotel des Invalides, on the dome of which still floated, high above all the tricolor rags that surrounded it, "*Le drapeau blanc*," noble, and melancholy emblem of the Bourbon dynasty!!!—the only one *now* visible in Paris.

The column of General St. Charmans found a barricade on the quay, which was soon removed by the pioneers, and thrown into the water; another placed near the *Trocadero* was destroyed with the same facility, but the columns was received throughout the whole length of the quay by gun shots fired close upon them

† This was a rumour without foundation; the regiment re-joined us afterwards by the Champs Elysées.

from the gardens of Chaillot, which overlooked the road. These shots, which killed several horses, and wounded some of the men, greatly exasperated the soldiers, who could not return the fire. On arriving at the corner of the little street St. Pierre, the General and his Etat Major, who marched in front, were received by a very sharp fire, which wounded many officers and men. The column returned it by a charge so vigorous that in less than a few minutes the place was entirely cleared, and a small party of Chasseurs, sent in pursuit of the runaways, avenged themselves by wounding the backs and shoulders of those "*braves hommes*," who had not been quick enough in finding a shelter in the neighbouring houses. This same detachment having advanced too far into Chaillot when the body of the column was directed to the other side, suffered from numerous shots from the windows under which it passed; three men were killed, and the commanding officer wounded, and his horse killed by a stone thrown from a third story—they could with difficulty rejoin the main column, which, having forced the barrier at Passy, was now directed against Anteuil by the road de la Briqueterie, and had traversed the Bois de Bologne to rejoin the army

at la porte de Maillot, where the column arrived too late to share in the last encounter.

The Pont de Neuilly, an important point (as it led to St. Cloud by the left bank of the Seine) had been entirely forgotten; and since the morning of the 29th it had been taken possession of by a handful of wretches hired doubtless by the lord of the soil,* yet it never occurred to any of

* The Duc d' Orleans—we beg the good friends of this Prince to explain to us the retirement in which he remained throughout this struggle.

They will answer us, perhaps, that he was at Neuilly before the events occurred. Yes—that is true; but surely he ought not to have remained there under existing circumstances. On the first news of such an insurrection, where was the right place of the Duc d' Orleans? Was it amidst the labyrinth of his park at Neuilly? or in his private cabinet, where he was only visible to his intimate friends? No! we must boldly say, he had active duties to fulfil, in such an eventful epoch! As Prince of the blood, as a superior officer, as Peer of Charles X., as the first of his subjects—his place was near the King!!! And in neglecting the duties which his position so inevitably imposed upon him, in not appearing at the post so positively assigned him, M. le Duc d' Orleans confirmed all the suspicions which during fifteen years had rested upon him—suspicions strongly expressed in 1827, by all the faithful and courageous men who had access to the court, but which the generosity of the King and Princesses had invariably repelled. Let history confirm this accusation!

The King, although warned of the illegal meetings held almost every week at Neuilly, where the leading members of

the superior officers to retake it, although twenty-five soldiers might at the point of the bayonet have dispersed the rabble without difficulty.

The retreat had been difficult and bloody—every house, every garden, and tree, offering to

the opposition, Ben. Constant, Lafitte, Gerard, Foy, Lemarque, Sebastiani, Montalivet, Casimir Perrier, Dupin, and several others, had met together, refused to listen to the fears evinced by the persons who spoke of them. An effort was also made to rouse the Duchesse de Berri's fears, who, whether at Paris or at Rosny, had always received the visits of some of the numerous members of the Orleans family, with their servile protestations of devotion to the King, and the young Prince de Bourdeaux.

But Madame la Duchesse refused, most decidedly, to listen to what was said against the motives and conduct of the Duc d'Orleans.

"It is all calumny," she exclaimed. "But, Madame," replied a person, whose opinion had some influence; "it appears easy to prove by the testimony of various persons, that distributions of money have been made several times by M. Lafitte, at Paris, and by his agents in the provinces, from the revolutionary Committee, in the name of the Duc d'Orleans." "No, no! I cannot, will not believe it," quickly replied the Duchesse de Berri,—“the Duc D'Orleans evinces every day so much devotion to my son—they are such good sort of people, it is horrible to calumniate them thus—to accuse them of such designs—I neither can nor believe it, and I will not hear another word on the subject.” This is now historical; for the fact has been known and repeated, not only amongst the court, but in all the salons of Paris. These "*D'Orleans sont de si honnêtes gens*," was become proverbial.

the political guerillas a shelter, from which they fired with impunity. As to the great body of insurgents who attempted to follow us, they were soon driven back, and two or three charges of cavalry showed them that we were no longer in the streets of Paris, and that on this new ground the mob would have the disadvantage; consequently they no longer annoyed us, or attempted any further opposition, but by a distant firing on the passing of some parties and isolated detachments, which, being in the rear of the column, had to traverse the Champs Elysées, and all Chaillot, in order to rejoin at the Porte Maillot a detachment of the 6th regiment of the guard, among others,* who, having

* This detachment, commanded by Lieutenant de Ferriette, son of the noble Baron de Ferriette Vendéen, whose whole life and fortune were consecrated to the cause of the Bourbons during the revolution of 1789 and 94,—this detachment, placed, as I said, in one of the interior courts of the Palais Royale, was forgotten and left there; and it was not till long after the body of the army had commenced their retreat that the Lieutenant thought of effecting that of his detachment. It was perilous and difficult, as they had to traverse all that part of the Tuilleries occupied by the immense masses of the victorious populace; but the brave Ferriette, making a short but energetic harangue to his soldiers, on what was now become a question of life or death, closed ranks, pointed bayonets, and marched on; and such was the terror this

been left in one of the courts of the Palais Royale, did not reach the barrier till the moment when the squadron of Lancers forming the rear guard, and protecting the passage of the column, began to defile, leaving the field open to the "*warrior citizens whose immortal courage had rescued France from tyranny and slavery.*"—*Journal le Constitutionnel.*

It was about four o'clock when the last squadron, charged with the rear guard, passed the Porte de Maillot, and about six o'clock the army arrived at St. Cloud, where it took up a position.* A battery was placed before the

handful of brave men inspired in the astonished mob, that, after a vigorous and well-directed charge on the Place XV., the rabble gave way before the redoubtable bayonet, and the detachment rejoined the army at the barrier with a very slight loss, considering all the dangers they had to surmount. The King, on being informed of this fact, instantly gave the croix, with his own hands, to the brave Ferriette.

* The troops, on their arrival at St. Cloud, were dying with hunger and thirst. During three days past neither men nor horses, officers nor soldiers, had received a single ration. The King, being informed of the state of the troops, sent instantly an order not only to collect all the bread and meat that could be found in the chateau and village, but, as the intelligence arrived at the hour of dinner, he literally sent away all that was on his own table, with an order to convey it instantly to the bivouac. This example was followed by the Duchesse de Berry and the Duc de Bourdeaux, who did the

bridge of St. Cloud, on le Chemin de la Reine, and another battery before the bridge of Sevres, uniting these two points by a chain of smaller posts. A grand guard of Lancers occupied the Bois de Boulogne, which, notwithstanding these points of defence, had been very difficult to guard in case of attack, from the very small number of troops the Marshal had to dispose of, and which he was obliged to disperse over so large an extent of ground. The bivouacs placed, the patroles established, and all the measures taken, did not tend to re-assure the officers and soldiers. We were exhausted by fasting and fatigue, and harrassed by anxiety respecting the fate of the King and Royal family, who might have been attacked with success. St. Cloud, though guarded on the south by the Pont de Sevres and the natural site of the Chateau, which commanded the road to Paris, was on the north side exposed to the heights of Gareche, which could not be defended, from the scarcity of troops ; and equally open to attack on the side of the Pont de Neuilly, which was in

same ; so that we may say, without exaggeration, "*Le cour dina par cœur,*" in order to relieve the wants of the troops. What was become of M. les Intendants and Sous Intendants during all this time ? is a question still to be resolved. One only was at his post—M. Weyler de Navas.

the hands of the insurgents, and on that of Vaugirard and Meudon, which almost overlooked St. Cloud—and we were all aware how critical was this position—we could not conceal from ourselves that an attack on St. Cloud was a death-warrant to each of our party, for officers and soldiers had alike resolved to defend the King to the last drop of their blood, and to make for him a rampart of their dead bodies.

A report was now spread through the bivouacs that M. le Duc de Mortemart, empowered with authority from the King, had been acknowledged and received by the Chambers as President of a new Ministry, that he had proclaimed a repeal of the Ordinances, and that this horrible warfare was ended. The 2nd Cuirassiers, commanded by the brave General de la Roche Jaquelin, had arrived from his garrison at Beauvais. The General was on a tour of inspection when he first received news of the insurrection in Paris. Without losing time, he ordered the regiment to horse, put himself at its head, and conducted it to Paris, notwithstanding the opposition he met with, en route, from the National Guard already organized.* The School of St.

* M.M. Guizot, Thiers, Montalivet, and all the elect, have been heard to say that the revolution of July had not been previously arranged; that it was spontaneous, &c. &c., but

Cyr, en masse, with the exception of three pupils, also tendered their services at St. Cloud. Eager to evince their attachment to the King, they asked for the honour of keeping the advanced guard of defence.

Towards eight o'clock in the evening intelligence arrived from Paris, and we were informed of what was going on there.*

General Balthazar received orders to march with two battalions of the 2nd regiment of the Guard, half a battery of artillery, and a regiment of cavalry, and retake the Pont de Neuilly. The column, when ready to march, was suddenly counter-ordered, and this expedition, whose result was of the greatest importance, was deferred to the next day, Wednesday 30th. These

how can they explain this sudden organization of the National Guards in the Provinces before any news of what was going on in Paris could reach the civil and military authorities of the Departments?

* How could we for a single moment believe this report of a pacification between the King and the Chambers? We ridicule the idea now, after the violence of the affray of that morning, and the cries of "A bas les Bourbons!" and "Vive la République!" with which we were assailed. But such was the ignorance in which we were left of the events of the Diplomatic party, that it was not until two days after it occurred we heard of the defeat, or rather the mystification, of M. le Duc de Mortemart.

repeated mistakes of the military authorities, this total want of fore-sight, this inertness, inconceivable under similar circumstances, could not escape the observation of the soldiers; they did not murmur at it, but confidence was destroyed, and this night also was passed in anxiety and the expectation of an attack.

CHAPTER V.

30th July, Friday—Expedition of General Balthazar to the Bridge of Neuilly—A word on some celebrated men, and the use of Cellars in times of trouble—The Rising Sun—The Messageries Lafitte and Caillard announce to the Provinces the confirmation of their Happiness—Review of the Civil and Military authorities, sorties des pavès de Juillet—Deposition of the King—The Duc d'Orléans is named Lieutenant General of the Kingdom; they tear him from his Household Gods of Neuilly, and he devotes himself—the poor man!!!—M. de Rumilly, and the General Bordesoult—31st July—The Dauphin, and the Duc d'Esclignac—Defection of the 50th of the Line, and the 15th Light Infantry—Departure for Rambouillet—The Gendarmes—The Pupils of St. Cyr—The 1st Swiss and the 18th Chasseurs rejoin—Report of the Defection of General Bordesoult—The Colonels assemble—Arrival of M^{me}. La Dauphine—A word on M. le Duc de Chartres, now Duc d'Orléans—Departure for Coignères—Our stragglers are massacred as if in an enemy's country—Means used to de-

of what they had done, and modestly calling themselves *Saviours*. The cowards! of whom the greatest number had lived during these three days, retired in their cellars, and invisible to the eyes of all!!* Soon the roads to Neuilly were covered with those noble visitors, who went to bow themselves before the rising sun!!! During all the morning the carriages of Dupin, Séguier, Soult, Molè, Casimir Perrier, Sebastiani, Guizot, Thiers, Montalivet, Barthe, Lobeau, &c., &c., and a hundred others, still pale with the fright of the three days, were crossing the barrier, and on the route to

* Agreeably to our profession of faith, we shall render to Cæsar that which is Cæsar's, and we shall be much obliged to the Constitutionnel, to the Charter of 1830, and to M. Bertin de Vaux, or rather to his journal, to tell us where, during the three days, were M.M. Thiers, Guizot, Barthe, Montalivet, Molè, Dupin, Segnier, Passy, and twenty others, whose names are to-day attached to the items of the budget—but we must render justice to the open and courageous manner with which M.M. Lafitte, Odillon Barrot, Manguin, Audry de Puiravault, Berard, Mathieu Dumas, Casimir Perrier, Benjamin Delessier, Lafayette, Duborg, de la Boissière, and many others, went through the dangers of these three days. As to all those *Pantins*, great and small, who now exhibit themselves at the Tuilleries, and talk the most loudly in the Chambers, they are strongly accused of having followed their plate and money, (those of them who possessed any) into their cellars, where the balls could not penetrate.

Neuilly. During this time the Messageries; Lafitte and Caillard, were moving on all the roads; it was like the steam engine of the new order of things—they did not walk, they flew—it was by them, and them only, that the news from Paris was carried to the Provinces.

Travellers—not a single one—what signified the expence? the citizen King was well able to pay—they were charged with the orders of the day, and with lying proclamations,* and already, even at 500 miles from Paris, the Duc d'Orleans had been proclaimed head of the new Government; although in Paris his friends had not yet dared to do it. The national guards having already co-operated in

* These proclamations announced the deposition of the King, before it had been decreed by the chambers united as a legislative body. They also added that the King and the Royal Family were in flight towards Belgium, taking with them all the diamonds of the Crown, and immense sums that his agents had pillaged from the coffers of the public treasury, and a thousand other absurdities, which strongly affected the people, and were believed by them; but no one will be astonished at the contents of these proclamations, when it is considered that their object was to excite the people against those who were honest and respectable, and whom the Orleans party knew to be attached to the King. Calumny has been during fifteen years the most powerful weapon in the hands of this party. Let them beware of the recoil!!

this great work, were now regularly organized, instead of the army, on which the new power could place but little reliance. A new municipal administration had risen, as by a magic hand, to replace (by its own authority, contrary to all law, civil and natural, without a convocation of the citizens, or any sort of election) that administration which had been legally established. Men who for the most part had nothing honourable in their characters, made themselves commandants of the national guards; others not more to be recommended, took possession of the offices of the public treasury; and the magistracy, lawyers mostly without character, and without honour, found themselves prefects, and sub-prefects. Ruined shoemakers, and bankrupt grocers took possession of the police; and in several departments, the command of the military force fell into the hands of old drunkards, who having nobly gained on the fields of Jena and Marengo, their captain's epaulettes, and even some of them having been raised to the rank of colonels, very naturally imagined, that they had more right than lawyers and wine merchants, to profit by the fruits of the revolution. In a word, it happened as it always has done, and always will do in revolutions, that the man

without character takes possession of the post of the man of honour, and that the boldest rogue plunders the honest man. It is the triumph of the intriguer, the hypocrite, and the knave!!* Towards three o'clock in the afternoon, the assembled deputies, to the number of perhaps 60 or 70, formed themselves into a legislative body taking the lead of the chamber of peers, notwithstanding the formal protestation of a small number of these latter assembled at the Luxembourg; and this fragment, this small, very small, minority of the representative power decreed the deposition of Charles X. notwithstanding the protestation of

* This picture of the Revolution may appear to foreigners, and to persons who have never seen anything similar, exaggerated, and drawn by party spirit; but we appeal to every conscientious man, who has been a witness of the struggle, and afterwards of the victory of the people over the aristocracy, and of the *Proletaire* over his seigneur, by whose bounty he had been supported. We appeal to all men who have followed the different political phases of the government of July, the sittings of the chambers, and seen the men in the different ministries who have succeeded each other, to compare this with the noble, firm, bold, and generous government of Charles X. We appeal to all foreigners, who having seen the court of Charles X., and the men who there occupied the highest stations, have also obtained the *great* and difficult honour of a reception at the court of Philippe, and to the drawing rooms of his counsellors.

and in a few minutes after, they announced to him a visit from M. de Rumilly, Aide de Camp of the Duc d'Orleans; what passed between these two personages is unknown to us, but we may easily imagine, from the defection of the general Bordesoult, two days after.

In the night the King and Royal Family (with the exception of the Dauphin, who remained to command in the camp, and the Dauphine, who was not yet arrived from Vichy) set out for Versailles, but took the direction of Trianon, in consequence of intelligence received from Versailles immediately after the departure of M. de Rumilly, and also in compliance with the advice of the Governor of Versailles, M. le Marquis de Vêrac, who had been able to judge of the bad spirit existing in that town. * The court being established at Trianon, it was thought better to send the troops to their barracks, than to keep them bivouacked near the person of the King,

* It is very remarkable that Versailles, as well as all the other towns and boroughs which owed most to the bounties of the King and royal family, showed the greatest animosity against them. The French population of Versailles were indebted for every thing to the favors of the Court, and to the residence there of the Garde du corps, and of the Garde. We say the French population, for during the last ten years, one-third of the population of this town has been composed of the English who live there.

because, as we have already had occasion to remark, it was certain that wherever there was an error to be avoided, and precautions to be taken, the marshal commanding fell into the first, and neglected the latter—thus the King was left exposed to an attack by the Croix de Bernis, and the route of St. Germain. During this retreat of the King with troops on Trianon, the rear guard was much harassed by the population of Sèvres, St. Cloud, and Neuilly, which having joined themselves to some of the heroes of Paris were organized as riflemen, and wounded many of our men. It had been necessary to place the carriage of the King in the centre of the squadrons of the Garde du Corps, to shelter it from danger.

Saturday, 31st July.

In the morning of this day we learnt that the captain commanding a detachment of grenadiers to whose charge the defence of the Pont de Sèvres had been entrusted, had abandoned his post, with his lieutenant and twenty men, to a column of Parisians whom he might easily have kept in check till a reinforcement arrived, which would have enabled him even to charge this ca-

naïlle with success.* At this intelligence the Dauphin was very angry, and marched in great haste at the head of a squadron of lancers towards the bridge to retake it; but it was then too late; the Parisian bands having spread themselves on every side, received him with a sharp fire, which cost him several men. The Lieutenant-colonel of this regiment, the brave Duc d'Esclignac, had his thigh broken by a cannon ball while at the side of the Dauphin. † This circumstance having animated the men, several charges of cavalry were made, and vigorously sustained by the small troop of infantry which supported it, but alas! in vain:—the resistance was too strong and too determined—it was necessary to yield. The prince ordered the retreat which was made by the pavè de Vaubusson, putting himself at the head of the rear guard composed of chasseurs of the guard, and about

* This captain Cartry, who was of Swiss origin, had been for fifteen years an object of the particular kindness of Madame la Dauphine, who had always interested herself about his numerous family. Two of his daughters were educated entirely at the expense of this generous princess. M. le Capt. Cartry preferred following the Talleyrand system, to being guided by the voice of honour and conscience.—He was free to do so.

† It was necessary some days after to have his legs amputated.

two battalions of the 15th light infantry.* This retreat was not without difficulties, in consequence of the great number of riflemen to whose fire they were exposed, but it was made in good order, and the column arrived at Trianon with some men and horses only slightly wounded. They found the bivouac established in the following order. The household and equipages of the King occupied the park ; the Swiss the gate of St. Antoine ; the infantry of the guard the road from Versailles to St. Germain; and the second grenadiers, the 50th regiment of the line, and the chasseurs of the guard, the Trou d'Enfer. Whilst these arrangements were being made, shots were constantly heard in the surrounding woods; and reconnoitring parties, led with vigour, made us masters of some of these factious visitors, and from them we learnt that they formed a part of the district of Versailles, the inhabitants of which town, no doubt from gratitude for the bounty of the King, had organized themselves as guerillas, and not having dared to attack us during our march, now, from behind the walls

* This regiment, which had refused to fight in Paris, was seized with remorse of conscience, and led by the example of its brave colonel Perregaux, rejoined the garde in the retreat ; it was about two battalions strong, all the rest having remained in Paris, in good fellowship with the people.

that hid them, fired random shots, which fell into the middle of the court at Trianon ; two or three of the King's horses and grooms were struck and wounded; at this the King was much grieved, and he decided immediately upon his departure for Rambouillet, where it was settled the royal family should sleep—it was five o'clock when they started, and the camp was then broken up, the order being given for the troops to follow the King. The column took the direction of St. Cyr across the park of Versailles—it was assailed on the road by shots fired from the fields and gardens ; some eclaireurs were sent, who soon seized a great number of these people. No one could find out who they were or where they came from ; they were armed with bad guns, and scythes. Some of the ringleaders were made to walk at the head of the column, and it was debated whether eight or ten should not be shot for an example, but they were pardoned. Below St. Cyr the advanced guard was received by a grand garde of the military school, who had organized themselves as a column of defence for that road. They had been just joined by the brave colonel Foucault, at the head of 700 men of the gendarmerie of Paris. On the heights the column was also joined by two other regiments, the second Swiss, commanded by the Comte de

Bezenval, and the 18th chasseurs, commanded by the Comte de Beaumont.* This double reinforcement considerably enlarged the column, which was then 9,000 strong. The march was continued (without anything occurring of importance) to Trappe, where the Dauphin had established his head-quarters, leaving the command of the rear guard to General Bordesoult, with the division of the heavy cavalry—one part of the army established itself at Trappe, another at Coignere, and the night passed more tranquilly than the preceding. At daybreak we learnt that the traitor general Bordesoult, in defiance of all duty and honour, had about three o'clock in the morning carried his division to the camp of Vangirard ;† and indeed only one su-

* These two regiments (whose example ought to have been followed by all those who were within the distance of seventy or one hundred miles of Paris) on the first intelligence of the events which were taking place, marched to join the king, overthrowing every obstacle which the National Guards, and the Messageries Lafitte placed on their route.

* The camp of Vangirard had been assigned by the new government as the place of rendezvous for all deserters from the royal standard. That general Bordesoult had intended to conduct his division there, on this day, has been but too well verified by the result. However it may have been, it is certain that there was a meeting of the colonels of all the regiments of heavy cavalry forming Bordesoult's division; the result of

perior officer of grenadiers, M.le Comte de Damas, with two or three lieutenants and sub-lieutenants of that division, had retained a sense of their duty.

Such an example had soon most grievous consequences; and as by degrees the news spread in the camp, the infantry was diminished by partial desertion, which all the zeal and firmness of the officers could not prevent. About seven o'clock in the morning the arrival of Mme. la Dauphine at the outposts stopped this desertion, and gave another direction to the thoughts of the army. She had made a long circuit to avoid Paris, and had left her carriage, in which she would not have been able to pass the suburbs without danger. She was received with demonstrations of the greatest joy, and by the loudest acclamations ; and for the time her presence not only prevented the execution of any projects of desertion, but also produced a revival of courage and determination throughout the camp.* A

which meeting was, that they agreed to make known to the General the reports which were circulated in the camp, and to request him to march his division to Rambouillet, in order to prove to the army, that he was not going to Vangirard. I am ignorant of the name of the colonel who took the message to the general.

* Mme. la Dauphine was at the Spas of Vichy at the time

few moments afterwards, from the intelligence communicated by the 2nd division, the troops

when the revolution of July broke out. She did not lose a moment in returning to Paris. It was with feelings of the most poignant anxiety, caused by the total absence of all news from Paris, and the revolutionary aspect of the populations through which she passed, that she arrived at Joigny, a little town situated on the river Yonne, about one hundred and twenty, or one hundred and thirty miles from Paris. Joigny was then garrisoned by the 1st Hussars, or Hussars of Chartres, the regiment commanded by the Duke de Chartres, eldest son of Philippe, and now Duke of Orleans. On the news of the arrival of Mme. le Dauphine, it was necessary that he should go to pay his respects to her, it was impossible he could avoid it, etiquette and duty required it from him. He did not go alone, but was accompanied by his staff. In answer to a thousand questions from the poor Duchess, he replied, "that she must not place too much reliance upon the news which she heard; that nothing extraordinary had taken place in Paris, the proof of which is," said he, "that we are here quietly in our garrison: you would not have found myself and regiment here if the events in Paris had assumed a serious character." He finished by offering an escort to Madame la Dauphine, and protested that himself, his officers, and all his regiment were ready to shed their blood for the defence the king, and of the royal family!! The poor Dauphine, almost consoled, quitted Joigny commending the devotion of and the noble sentiments expressed by the Duc de Chartres. Alas! her carriage had not passed the barrier, when this worthy grandson of Egalité, the son of Philippe, assembled his regiment, and had read to them the orders of the day to the army, and the proclamations which

began to move, and the order to raise the camp was given to the column of advanced guard, which marched immediately, followed by the main body of the army, to rejoin the King at Rambouillet. The column marched in perfect order, and would have gained Rambouillet without losing a single man if regular distribution could have been made ; but by many of our soldiers extreme hunger was felt, and being scattered to the right and left in the hopes of finding houses where they expected to be received as brothers and have food given to them, they were shot by the courageous Parisian guerrillas, who in the morning had besieged our camp ; and many of our unfortunate stragglers were inhumanly massacred in the isolated fields, as if they had been in an enemy's country. We arrived in the afternoon between the village of Percy and the forest of Rambouillet.

he had received that same morning from Paris, and which he had in his pocket at the very moment that he was swearing to the Dauphine fidelity to the King and to herself, and ordered the d'Orleans cockade to be substituted to the white cockade. A few hours after, he gave up the command of his regiment to his Lieutenant-colonel, and set out for Neuilly, quitting the direct route from Paris to Champigny, in the fear of meeting the carriage of Madame la Dauphine. This fact can be attested by fifty persons, who heard what passed between Madame la Dauphine and the Duc d' Orleans, and were witnesses of what passed at the time, and afterwards.

let, where the army fixed its bivouacs : but then began that desertion of which the first examples had been given during the march of the column. Since the morning the infantry had caused serious uneasiness, but we have said that the arrival of Mme. La Dauphine had stopped these desertions, and revived the courage of all ; but it appeared that during the march a great part of the 15th Light Infantry had deserted, the soldiers firing their cartridges in the air which they would not fire at the people,—others throwing their guns behind the hedges, and quitting the ranks to go, they said, to ask for bread,—others loudly accusing the indolence of Marshal Marmont and the counsellors of the King, as being the cause of all the calamities that had occurred.* Scarcely were we established in the camp than it was besieged, as it had been in the morning, by emissaries of the Orleans party, who, encouraged by the defection of the line, laboured with all their power to augment the confusion which already pervaded the regiments. Notwithstanding the active surveillance of the officers and serjeants, they contrived to intro-

* All these details were not known to us, till our arrival at the camp. Every officer had seen that the ranks became thinner during the march, but the soldiers asked to be allowed to go and seek for food. Could they have been refused ?

duce themselves into the camp, and were only too well listened to by the soldiers. They were stored with provisions, wine, brandy, &c. They related all that was passing in Paris; the enthusiasm with which the deposition of Charles X. had been proclaimed; the popularity of the Duc d'Orleans, who they said *was not proud*, and who was as ready to shake hands with the private soldier as with the General, &c. &c. There were others, (but they were not so much to be feared, for the soldiers did not listen to them,) who, better dressed, and with an appearance of something like the military costume, enquired for several serjeants and officers, whose names were probably invented, as they were not known. These men called themselves the aides-de-camp of the Generals Clausel, Gérard, Maison, Lobeau, &c. &c. They promised promotion to the soldiers and non-commissioned officers. They said that there were already more than 10, 15, or 20,000 men at the camp of Vangirard—that every soldier who would go there before the 4th of August would be made a serjeant, and every serjeant an officer, and a thousand other tales, with which, however, our soldiers were not so easily deceived as they were by those of the pretended villagers with their bread, cheese, sausages and wine,

which they offered to every one, and at the same time told their stories of Paris and the Duc d'Orléans. One of these dandies, (whose partly military dress and self-sufficient manner had particularly displeased our soldiers, and by whom he was nicknamed le Calicot,) had several times received a caution not to enter the camp. To this he paid no attention, and an officer ordered two men to take him outside the line, with an intimation that if he passed it again they would drive him out with a bayonet, or perhaps a ball. He paid no more attention to this than to the previous advice, and one of the soldiers having wounded him in the leg, he was taken and conducted to the staff. He said his name was Pook, or Plook, belonging to the staff of General Gérard. He ought to have been treated as a kidnapper by the Council of War, but I believe he was sent away after having received a good SCHLAG.* About five o'clock in the evening it was announced that the Dauphin was going to review the camp. He was received throughout the line with much enthusiasm, and appeared much more communi-

* What this Mr. Pook, or Plook, or Boss, is now, God knows, possibly Colonel, perhaps Mareschal de Camp, or Lieutenant General!! Why not? M. Thiers is now President of the Council.

cative than usual. He received with empressement the complaints of the officers of the want of provisions; encouraged the soldiers; and strongly expressed to them the gratification the King had received from their devotion and courageous conduct. He quitted the camp to return to Rambouillet. Evening arrived, and hunger being again felt, confusion ensued. Only one of the military commissaries was at his post. He was the one belonging to the household of the King, and he had enough to do; the others had not appeared, they had made their peace.* The fatal consequences of the defection of Bordesoult were now apparent, and a number of partial desertions took place. We will relate on the subject of the defection of Bordesoult a fact which is not without interest. When the brigade of Cuirassiers, leaving the army, presented itself at the gate of Trappe, defended by a company of the 2nd Infantry of the Guard, the passage was refused, and the Cuirassiers insisting, a collision became inevitable. The Infantry officers represented to their soldiers all the bad effects which such a struggle

* Word consecrated to those who, having cut off their moustaches, and laid aside their uniforms, or whose hats were ornamented by a large tricolor cockade, were gone to inscribe their names at the Palais Royal.

would produce, and the grief it would cause the King. "My Lieutenant," replied an old corporal, "it is possible ; but still there is but one way for a soldier to understand honour and to fulfil his duty, and that is not by deserting his post. Every deserter deserves to be shot, and we only wait for your command to shoot these." The good corporal was right : however, the remonstrances of the officers prevailed, and the passage was granted ; but it was amidst bitter pleasantries that the Cuirassiers, ashamed of their conduct, and convinced that the honest corporal spoke truly, continued their route.

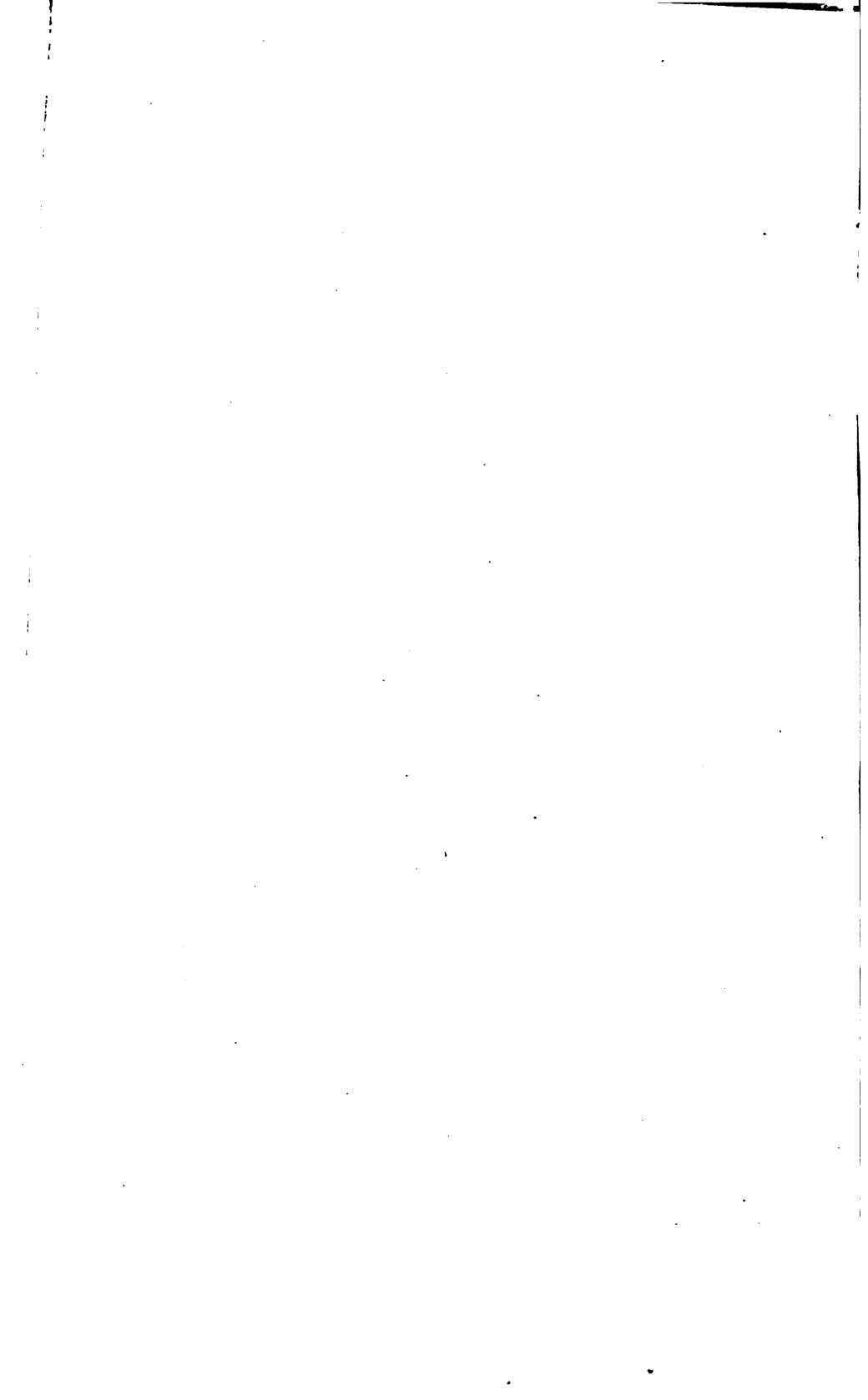
CHAPTER VI.

Monday the 2nd of August—Rambouillet—Colonel Perregaux and his standard—The 2nd Grenadiers—The abdication of Charles X, and the dauphin Louis XIX—The Duc de Bordeaux proclaimed Henry V—Devotion of the Garde—They wish to march against Paris, or to La Vendée—Anxieties of the Duc d'Orleans—He sends four commissaires to Rambouillet—To complete his victory, Charles X and his family must leave France—Campaigne of the Parisians at Rambouillet—Joy of the Garde at the intelligence that they were going to recover all that had been lost—The King said No—Generous language of Charles X—Departure for Maintenon—Discouragement of the army—They will march into La Vendée, the King had said so—General satisfaction—The secret is betrayed—Intrigues of the Commissaires—Treason—The King deceived—He revokes the order for marching into La Vendée, and announces to M.M. les Commissaires that he intends to quit France—



HENRI DE BOURBON,
DUC DE BORDEAUX.

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Consternation of the troops—The work of darkness is accomplished—Departure for Dreux—Disbanding—Painful adieus—The King is informed that he is to embark at Cherbourg.

DURING the night the King had received a visit from M. M. le General Maison, Schonen, Odilon Barrot, Commissioners appointed by the Lieutenant-General of the Kingdom; they came to ascertain the state of the troops, and the situation in which the King was placed. Since the preceding evening, reports most annoying to the new government had been circulated in Paris; and a meeting of the deputies having taken place, M. le Duc de Mortemart, who was not discouraged by the mystification of which he had been the dupe, was severely reproached, by these terrified hypocrites, and accused of playing a double part. In consequence, having taken as a colleague M. le Duc de Coigny, (Pair de France) he set out for Rambouillet with the three commissioners of the government, in order to satisfy themselves of what was passing there, and also to watch over the safety of the King, who was represented in Paris as being menaced by the country people risen en masse against him. This was but another scene added to the comedy; but it was necessary the parts should be acted by men in whom the King had

a certain degree of confidence; * we shall see the results. On their arrival at Rambouillet, M.M. les Commissaires represented to the King the object of their visit, the official character and powers with which they were invested, and drew an alarming picture of the animosity of the inhabitants of Paris, which they said had been caused by the report of a projected attack upon the city.

They said that it would be more prudent, and more to his interest, and the public tranquility, if he would remove further from the capital, which was filled by crowds of men from the provinces, who were even more exasperated than the Parisians themselves, and who openly threatened the destruction of the King and Royal family—they intimated that it was with the greatest difficulty that the scarcely formed government of the Duc d'Orleans had been able to restrain their fury—that in retiring further

* M.M. les Ducs de Mortemart and Coigny, alarmed at what they heard in Paris, at the meeting of the deputies at M. Lafitte's, and at the Hotel de Ville, really thought the King's life was endangered—hence their journey to Rambouillet, and their advice to the King to retreat. On returning to Paris, M. le Duc de Coigny discovered that he had only heard the voice of men interested in the downfall of the throne of Charles X; he therefore refused to return a second time with the Commissioners to Rambouillet.

from the capital, the King would avoid this threatened danger, and they entreated him by the love he bore his country, to retire and withdraw his troops in order to prevent a greater effusion of blood.

To all this, the King replied with calmness and dignity—he would neither agree to, or promise anything, and the eloquence of M.M. Les Commissaires completely failed. After this the King had a long conference with M.M. les Ducs de Mortemart, and de Coigny; these gentlemen repeated nearly all M.M. les Commissaires had said—that menacing rumours circulated in Paris—that the people, incited by secret agents, talked of marching on Rambouillet to surprise the King—that horrible imprecations and threats of total destruction were uttered against the royal family and the Garde, and that there was real danger for the King and his faithful soldiers. Such were the accounts given to him by these mistaken men, who had heard them from the mouths of the warmest friends of the new government. They were false, absolutely false, but it was necessary that the King should believe them, that he might be induced to remove further from Paris, each retiring movement taking him nearer to the land of exile, and

placing the Duc d'Orleans a step nearer to the throne.

These ridiculous tales made a much greater impression on the King, as some of his counsellors (men of cowardly minds) increased his fears by recounting to him secret and discouraging intelligence which they had received from Paris. It was on Monday the 2nd of August, at day-break, that the army began to move towards Rambouillet; the 4th regiment of the Garde, led by their brave Colonel le Baron de Farincourt, formed the advanced guard, and arrived at Rambouillet between 10 and 11 o'clock; it was soon followed by the principal part of the column, which as usual was established in the park. The Garde du Corps nearest the person of the King; the remainder of the troops, including the artillery, were bivouacked in the long and vast alleys, under the shade of the noble oak trees, which for centuries have been the boast of the Park of Rambouillet. Oh! could these venerable and stately monarchs of the Royal Park have been interrogated, they who had seen the brilliant courts of Louis XIV, and Louis XV, when the noble pupil of Richelieu came to seek in the excitement of the chase, relaxation from the cares of royalty, and with his young

and brilliant escort, traversed with the rapid bounds of his noble courser those woods, reverberating with the music of the horn, the baying of the hounds, and the neighing of horses; and when those who surrounded him, in imitation of this young hero, rivalled each other in their endeavours to gain a smile or look from the beauty which always presided at these fêtes—Oh! what a contrast was this to the mournful and silent escort of the Grandson of Louis the 14th,—vanquished, fugitive, and proscribed—whose sceptre had been broken by the hands of his rebellious subjects, and whose crown had been trodden under foot by a lawless rabble, united under the banners of drunkenness, disorder, and carnage.

The 8th regiment of Swiss, with two squadrons of the Gardes du Corps, had taken up a position at the entrance of the Park upon the road to Paris, and the remainder of the cavalry were quartered in the neighbouring hamlets. While the bivouac was being established, the 2nd regiment of Grenadiers-a-cheval arrived; actuated by feelings of shame and remorse they had detached themselves from the division of the traitor General Berdesault, and returned to Rambouillet to restore their Colours

to the King. * The previous evening the brave Colonel Perregaux had also arrived ; his regiment, the 15th Light Infantry, having almost entirely deserted, he had brought the standards to restore them to the King. This brave officer, notwithstanding his firm and noble conduct, had only left out of all his regiment, the standard-bearer, a few officers, and about forty or fifty private soldiers. The King received him with his usual kindness, thanking him for his loyal and devoted conduct, and the brave Colonel retired from the audience, almost consoled by the words of his royal master. These proofs of attachment, added to the arrival of Mme.

*It is to be wished that all the regiments of the Bordesoult division, who were as guilty as the 2nd, had redeemed their fault in the same manner. A moment of inadvertency, or error, may, and ought to be pardoned ; but forgetfulness of duty, breaking an oath, and failing in honour, as they led to fatal consequences, must, though with regret, be mentioned in history.

Shame to those officers who forgot both—two days later, and we should not have had to make them such a reproach, and they might have said, with the satisfaction of a clear conscience, “I have done my duty to the last!!” Honour to the Commandant Alfred de Damas, Capt. le Comte de Biron, M. le Baron d’Offémont, and three or four other officers, who refused to follow the division to Vaugirard, and resolved nobly to continue their service to the King.

la Dauphine, produced, however, a very good effect; she was received by the troops, and more particularly by the Gardes du Corps, who had not yet seen her, with the greatest demonstrations of delight and enthusiasm. This princess, so good and so generous, was beloved by all, and notwithstanding the calumnies of her enemies, has more real love for the French nation in her heart, than two of the puppets, who having for a time deceived the people, now bend the knee before a King of their own creating. *

It was about eleven o'clock when the King, accompanied by the young Duc de Bordeaux, and the charming Princess his sister—the Dauphin—the Duchesse de Berry, and the Dauphine, inspected the bivouac, which gave great satisfaction to the troops, who were then formed in circles by battalions and squadrons; and in each brigade, the abdication of Charles X. in favour of his son the Dauphin (Louis XIX), and of this latter in favour of the Duc de Bor-

* We refer the reader to the *Constitutionnel*, the *Courier Français*, to the *Charte de Nantes*, to *Figaro*, and other publications of the same kind, where the noble Dauphine was a thousand times calumniated in the most infamous manner—but dirt is no respecter of persons, and soils everything it touches.

deaux, was read, and he was proclaimed King by the cries, a thousand times repeated, of "Long live the King Henry the Vth !"* and the

* The act of abdication—We will not here discuss the degree of validity of the act of abdication. Such a question would demand volumes, that of the Dauphin especially. We will content ourselves by asserting, that according to the Charter and constitutional laws of the kingdom, *the Dauphin could not abdicate*, since he had not been acknowledged by the Chamber of Peers, as *successor* to the throne and the crown of Charles X. after his abdication: which abdication could only become valid, after being accepted by the Chamber of Peers and registered there. Instead of that, the two abdications, viz. that of the King, and the Dauphin, took place the same day, and hour, were transmitted to the Chamber of Peers together, and the Chamber of Peers had not a sufficient number of members assembled to render the registration valid. However it may be, it is impossible not to reflect with sorrow, upon the weakness of which these acts are a proof. Yes, it is with feelings of grief and pity that we see an old man and his son, contrary to every law of duty, the one as *King*, the other as his *Heir*, contrary to sound policy, abdicating a crown, taken from the former by the exasperated and drunken population of a city (whose inhabitants do not form a hundredth part of that of France,) and which a single act of energy might have overcome—a crown, which to the Dauphin, did not constitutionally belong—both abdicating in favour of a child, incapable of going sword in hand to demand it again from his cousin the Duc d'Orleans. Yes, we confidently affirm, if the Duc de Bordeaux had been twenty years of age, then Henri V. would be reigning now. The Dauphin did not wish to risk the chances of war. In this

troops, now full of enthusiasm, reiterated the cries, adding "Let us march to Paris!" "Let us march to la Vendée!" and there was not a man in the camp who would not willingly have shed his last drop of blood in defence of Henry the Vth. At this time the troops with the King comprised the Gardes du Corps, the Garde, and the Gendarmerie, forming a total of about ten thousand men, infantry and cavalry, with forty pieces of artillerie de campagne; and it is certain these were more than sufficient to have kept Paris and the suburbs in check, until the arrival of troops from the camps of Luneville and St. Omer; and we may add that the populace of Paris were as much

did he act right or wrong? History and posterity will decide. For ourselves we were ready—our blood was his—our arms were raised—and we were sufficient to crush Paris, and all its drunken population. He refused—he preferred exile. Be silent—respect misfortune and weakness: whatever were the motives that determined the King to abdicate, we are convinced that they were noble and generous—but they have consummated the misfortune of France—occasioned the overthrow of social order, placed the slave where formerly ruled the master, substituted vice for virtue, shame and intrigue for honour, falsehood and hypocrisy for loyalty; in a word, les Thiers, les Guizot, les Dupin, les Montalivet, les Barthe, &c. &c. now occupy the places, which were formerly filled by all that France possessed that was most pure, and most noble.

surprised as ourselves, at the easy victory they had gained, and were contented with celebrating it in the public houses, by riot and drunkenness, without having the least wish or intention (as represented by M. M. les Commissaires of the Duc d'Orleans) of making any further use of the conquest they had achieved. There was then not only a possibility of our being able to maintain our position, and act on the defensive, but that we even might have made an attack with every chance of success. The troops, generally speaking, were for the King; at Marseilles, at Nantes, and at Reimnes the Marechaux de Camp remained faithful to him; the Generals Donnadieu and d'Espinois, at the head of several thousand men, waited only for orders; the majority of the people in the provinces were opposed to the revolution; and all the light cavalry, with the exception of two or three regiments, were only waiting for orders to join. But to ensure any good result from these favourable circumstances, there was that required, in which, alas! we were most deficient *—a chief, a supreme head, a *Wellington*, who by energy, decision, and firmness would have

* Le Marechal Bourmont was then at Algiers.

inspired the troops and the well-disposed with confidence, and who would not have allowed that devotion which demanded only employment to be dispirited and discouraged from the want of orders, and the uncertainty in which it was kept.

Prompt and decided measures should have been taken, and had the troops been made acquainted with the ulterior projects of the King, they would have supported without a murmur, privations, fatigue, and hunger, and the knowledge that each moment brought them nearer to the much wished-for hour of action, would have animated their courage, increased their moral force, and arrested insubordination. But alas! this soul, this main-spring was wanting, and the transports of enthusiasm which I had just witnessed when the young Henry was proclaimed King, and the devotion of the troops, were not taken advantage of, and they were not allowed even to make the attempt of recovering for this royal child the throne of his ancestors.

This child, whom we had known from the time of his birth, whose first steps we had watched, in whose plays we had taken a part, and whom we had so often seen in the midst of our soldiers (most of whom he knew by name), sometimes

playing with their swords, sometimes with his little hands striking the drums, or covering his pretty fair head with the Grenadiers' caps, would then look thoughtfully and seriously at us, as much as to say, "Why am I not old enough to bear a helmet and sword, and to march with you against the enemies of my country?"—Poor child, whose cradle had rested upon a coffin,* and who had first seen his mother's smile through her tears—he who like his noble

* No one has forgotten that the Duc de Berry was assassinated by a man who had belonged to the clubs of the Carbonaris. Was it an isolated crime? Was it directed by the revolutionary party? We answer unhesitatingly that it was! Let it be remembered that the man whose poignard deprived the king, Charles X, of a son, the Duchesse de Berry of a husband, and the royal child of a father, told the judges *that he had chosen the Duc de Berry because in him alone rested the hope of a continuation of the eldest branch*—let it be remembered that the Duc de Cases, then President of the Ministry, a favourite of Louis XVIII, was publicly accused at the Chamber of Deputies, by M. de Corcelles, one of the representatives of France, *of having participated in the murder of the Duc de Berry*—Let it be remembered that the accusation was stopped by the king's supreme wish—that some months after France obliged the king to send away his favourite—that this favourite, the Duc de Cases, has ever been, and is still a great friend of the Duc d'Orleans—if he has not yet appeared in the different ministries that Phillippe has formed, since his accession to the throne, it is that the hand of time has not

father, had a friend in every one of our soldiers—and this attachment was now manifested, as well as their affection for him, and devotion to his cause, by their anxious wish and reiterated cries of being led against Paris or to la Vendée. The ceremony being over, the royal family retired, excepting the Dauphin, who remained in the camp, and appeared as gay as if he had been preparing for a hunting party. A short time after we were informed that the king had assembled all the members of his family, with M. le Duc de Luxembourg and the Baron de Damas, for a secret council, to decide upon what were the best steps to be taken, whether they should quit France, or risk the chances of a renewal of hostilities. During this period we were agitated by the strangest and most fluctuating rumours ; but after a time, some part of what had been decided on in the council transpired, and we were restored to hope and animation. It was said that dispatches were immediately to be forwarded to the General Commandant of the Cavalry School at Saumur, where Charles X. had decided upon sending the young Henry, and even the name of the officer charged with

yet sufficiently obliterated the events of the drama of the 13th of February ; let a little more time elapse, and the Duc de Cases will attain to power.

this mission was circulated in the camp, with many other details calculated to mislead us, and we now felt sure that it had been decided we were to march into la Vendée.—La Vendée, the cradle of loyalty, the soil sprinkled with the blood of Charrette, La Rochejaquelin, Suzannet and Lescure, and which during thirty years had been watered with the noblest blood of France. La Vendée, where legitimacy has always found a throne, and religion an altar—La Vendée—it was an electric word, all repeated it with enthusiasm. We met, but our hearts were too full for utterance, we could only point to the west, and clasp each others' hands.

About 7 o'clock, the royal family being at dinner, a courier arrived covered with dust to announce the march of the Parisians towards Rambouillet, and a few minutes after the three commissaries arrived, but M. le Duc de Coigny did not accompany them ; the accounts they brought would only have been amusing to us, if they had not unfortunately found so many people inclined to believe them. According to their statement, 80 or 90,000 men were marching upon Rambouillet, to arrest the king and royal family ; that all the means employed by the provisional government to deter them had been useless ; that the Duc d'Orleans, the Legislative Body, all Paris, all France, in dreadful

anxiety as to the result of such an occurrence, had dispatched them to the king to beseech him to hasten his departure, and avoid so bloody and unequal a contest; and many other stories well calculated to frighten the old King and his cowardly counsellors. Between 12 and 1 o'clock A. M., we could distinguish from the heights of Rambouillet, the road covered by a mass of, people, some on foot, some in open carriages, but the greatest number in omnibusses, hackney coaches, and cabs, without chiefs, without discipline, or even the appearance of order, armed in a variety of ways, many unarmed, already intoxicated, singing and shouting in the most outrageous manner. These were the élite of the heroes of July—this was literally the force which had vanquished the Garde during the *three days*, and which was now once more employed to complete the work of darkness.

Oh! if the king had given us liberty to act, how easy would it have been to have driven back, and entirely overthrown this multitude, who, instigated by those who called themselves their friends, had thus been wantonly placed in a situation of so much danger.* If orders had

* The total destruction of this mass of drunken men, shut up in omnibusses, cabs and hackney coaches, was so simple and easy a thing, and from the situation in which Charles X. was placed, so justifiable and necessary, that we strongly

been given to profit by the occasion, all might have yet been regained. The soldiers prepared themselves for a charge, and in their familiar language, said to each other, "they (meaning the mob,) may write to their friends, for very few of them will return to Paris to see them."—But fate had decreed otherwise.

A general officer of cavalry, a man of talent and energy, having proposed a plan of attack to the King, and added that he would be answerable for clearing the road of this 80,000

blamed him, and do so still, for not having profited by this fortunate opportunity of regaining his crown. Two batteries commanding the Ravine (known by the name of L'Arretoir) and which also commands the road, would have been sufficient to stop this mass of carriages, and some charges of cavalry, with one or two battalions of infantry, firing upon them from each side of the road, might have been sufficient to put the whole phalange to flight, and there would not have been one left to carry the tidings to Paris; and what would then have taken place?—the king had sufficient troops to take possession of Paris, for it remained defenceless. It was this mass of people who had fought there, and who alone had vanquished the Garde. The camps of St. Omer and Luneville, consisting of about 24,000 men, were only a day's march from the king. In many of the provinces the troops still held out against the National Guards, and the revolution of July would have been defeated, in less time than it had been effected. The king replied to a general officer, who answered for its success, "*No; I will not allow it—enough French blood has already flowed!*"—and this is the man whom the English Journals designated as *the Tyrant!*

men in two hours, the King replied, "*No, I do not wish it. I will not have a gun fired—enough French blood has been already shed.*" This too generous conduct of the King, ruined his own cause, and proved nearly fatal to M.M. les Commissaires; all the influence of the officers was requisite to prevent the soldiers from seizing them, and hanging them up on the trees of the park. But it would have been contrary to the laws of honour, and of war, and M.M. Maison, Schonen, and Odillon Barrot were saved. * The eloquence of M.M. les Commissaires had failed with the King, who refused to answer their questions or to promise any thing; but they used their influence more successfully with the Parisians, who had not at all the appearance of people prepared to fight, and who returned to Paris, both Citizens and Heroes, more intoxicated than they were even at first, and all tolerably disappointed. Such was the memorable Campaign of Rambouillet, which was mentioned in *Le Constitutionnel* and

* It was not without great difficulty that the officers succeeded in dissuading the soldiers from some act of violence against M.M. les Commissaires, whom they looked upon as guilty of all the evil committed during the last four and twenty hours. Once they were sought for—their sentence was passed—they were to be hanged upon the trees in the park—fortunately they could not be found, they were with the King!!!

Les Debats as the last splendid triumph of the people over tyranny ; but the actors in it were, however, amply repaid by the Croix de Juillet with which all who could say " I was at Rambouillet," were decorated. While these events were taking place, the King had given the order for our departure from Rambouillet; and about three o'clock, with the rest of the royal family, and under the escort of the Gardes du Corps, he arrived at Maintenon, a chateau belonging to M. le Duc de Noailles. What was the motive which induced the King and his counsellors to take this step we were not informed, but my own opinion is that it was suggested by fear; all that we were able to learn at the time was, that private intelligence had been received. From whence? From whom? By whom? We know not; but although we regret and blame this determination, we still respect and are sure that the King's *own* motives were good. It is impossible to convey an idea of the feeling of dejection and despondency which this retrograde movement cast over the minds of the soldiers. The idea of retreating before that ignoble populace, drunk with wine, and wearied by excitement, and which might have been overthrown by a charge of two squadrons of cavalry, spread over the whole army a veil of sadness, despair,

and shame ; and an unparalled scene of confusion took place. Some of the soldiers were seen to break their arms, (and weep,) since "they were not allowed to use them:" others threw their cartridges over the hedges, and fired their pistols in the air ; others quitted their ranks, and throwing away their guns, sat down by the road side refusing to continue their retreat ; others threw themselves down in the wheat fields to seek for that sleep which for eight days they had been without. And why was all this ? Because the King would not allow them to fight for him. And during this march of fifteen miles, the most dreadful confusion prevailed, and such proofs of insubordination, which cause the most painful feelings in the mind of a soldier.*

Arrived at Maintenon the troops prepared

* One cause, which according to our opinion contributed much to the demoralization of the army, was the King's indecision and want of energy. An entire stranger to the customs of military life, the King could not appreciate the painful feelings of the officers and soldiers in these disgraceful circumstances—hence disgust and defection—for there are two things a soldier cannot support, viz. shame and humiliations, and to how many had we not been exposed. They could not understand the difference of the character of a soldier and a courtier.

their bivouac round the town, with the exception of the King's military household, who encamped in the square. We had not been established more than an hour and a half, when it was confidentially announced to us that the King having been informed of the disorder and desertion which had taken place during the route, had consulted the devoted men who surrounded him, and that at length yielding to the wishes of the army, *he had decided to march to La Vendée*. This news was at first received with incredulity, but when having been officially communicated to some of the senior officers, their joy became visible to all, and when to our questions they replied in such a manner as to confirm our hopes, when it was soon afterwards announced to us that the first orders had been given for forming an advanced guard, when all felt assured that the General M— was to have the command of it, as well as the second brigade of light cavalry, which he was to lead during the night to Chartres, at which place we were told he had instructions to prepare lodgings for the King, who was to follow in two hours—when all these and other circumstances equally convincing were known, how changed was the appearance of every thing in the camp!—then might be seen joy and con-

fidence, succeed to sorrow and depression ; but as it was necessary for the success of the enterprise, that the intentions of the King should not be known to his enemies, and as we were surrounded on all sides by spies, women, and strangers, soldiers as well as officers felt the necessity of secrecy, and not a word escaped them ; but a significant pressure of the hand, and the slightest glance spoke volumes. Our brave soldiers had forgotten all their sorrows, and they were now occupied by one engrossing idea,—the King yet reckoned upon their devotion and courage, and he should not reckon in vain. But in the midst of these anticipations the secret transpired ; there were traitors, and these even in the King's antechamber, who betrayed it to M.M. les Commissaires, and they lost no time in taking measures to avert the storm, which the execution of such a determination would sooner or later have caused to burst over their heads. March to the west !—this would be the overthrow of the scarcely established Government of the Duc d'Orleans, the overthrow of sixteen years of labour, intrigues and calumnies. It would put an end to the work of darkness, and tear away the veil by which it was covered ; and an oath had been taken upon the poignard of Carbonarisme,

*that this work must be accomplished.** The orders were given, the King had retired to his apartment, and every one was occupied with the preparations and arrangements, which the new circumstances in which we were to be placed made requisite.

A general officer, attached to one of the Princes, and who had been most active in persuading the King to his present determination, with thoughts too much occupied to yield to repose, and also having many things to arrange, left the Chateau to go in search of Marechal Marmont, to whom he had some communications to make ; he met the Marechal upon the Place, who told him that he was going himself to see that the brigade was preparing (according to the orders received,) for their march to Chartres. This was at one o'clock in the morning ; nothing had then been changed. The general officer returned home about half an hour afterwards, and in passing the King's apartment to go to his

* For more ample information upon the subject of this secret society, which plays so conspicuous a part in the drama of July, we shall refer the reader to M. Barthe, now Garde des Sceaux and Minister of the Public Instruction, whose liberalism decrees the imprisonment of the journalists who dare to say that he has not always held the same language he now does.

own room, he was not a little surprised at hearing a very animated conversation in the monarch's chamber. Alarmed at so unusual a circumstance, and influenced by the keenest anxiety, he rushed into the room at the moment when the King, after a warm discussion, had been overcome by the importunities and supplications of *traitors* and cowardly advisers, and had revoked the order which had been given *to march to la Vendée*, and acceded to the wishes of the Provisional Government that he should quit France. It was now two o'clock, and this short time—one single hour, had been sufficient to enable intriguers by false representations to influence the mind of the King, and induce him to change his resolution ; had he remained firm in them, the courage and devotion of those brave men who now surrounded him, and whose dearest hopes he had thus overthrown, would certainly have placed the Crown of France upon the head of Henry the Vth.

But the King had yielded, and had again placed the cause of his unfortunate family, with the destinies of France, in that web of misfortune in which they had been entangled for nearly a century. Yes! the King, that weak old man, had declared to M. M. les Commis-

saires, that he was willing to go into exile.* Monday, at three o'clock in the morning, at the moment when all the officers and soldiers, prepared to raise the camp, waited anxiously for the order of departure, we were informed of the King's new determination—the disappointment, rage and consternation were then un-

* This determination of the King, contrary to the arrangements made some hours before, contrary to the given orders, and the expectation of the troops—without the participation of *any one* of the members of his family,—without having consulted one of the superior officers, into whose hands he had placed the care of his army a few hours before, at such an hour, and in so private a council—is a mystery of which we could nevertheless raise a corner of the veil; but we will be silent, out of respect to the names of the families, whose honour should not be tarnished for the crime of one. Shame, shame, upon the authors of this cowardly treason—upon the courtiers who preferred their personal safety to the chances of a war, which frightened them. Shame upon the courtiers, and upon that woman, who so basely abused the credulity, the weakness and the confidence of an old man—this work was that of the doctrinaires, and it has sealed their triumph, until the hour of retribution!!! But let us add, that the justice of heaven did not wait long, before it punished its principal author, a woman, who returned the thousand benefits received from this family by treason; the obscurity in which she now lives, she who was ever devoured by ambition, and the loss of the eminent post which she long occupied near the royal family, joined to the voice of conscience, must be a sufficient misfortune—let not her name be mentioned.

bounded ; but when a short time after the order *du Licenciement* was made known, then the despair of both officers and soldiers was indeed frightful, and there was a general murmur in the camp. A great number of officers, unable to contain their indignation at this last act of weakness, broke their swords in presence of the soldiers and their colonels. Others put spurs to their horses and left the camp, fearing they could not restrain the desire for vengeance which devoured them. Others talked of going to the Chateau, to remonstrate with the King, and compel him to act in accordance with his first decision. Others went in search of M.M. les Commissaires to seize them. Others loudly demanded that the cowardly traitors who had given such base counsel to the King should be given up to them ; but for the space of three or four hours it is impossible to give an adequate description of the dismay and confusion which prevailed. An order was sent to the General commanding the advanced guard which had set out during the night, desiring him to send all the regiments of which it was composed, to their respective garrisons.

In the camp the colonels also received orders to march their regiments back to their garrisons, by different roads, and to avoid Paris. Dreux was the place fixed upon for the disbanding of

the troops—there was yet one day, and we should then be separated from the King and royal family, who had so little known how to profit by our devotion. The King, now entirely in the power of M.M. les Commissaires, acceded to all their propositions—he was to set out immediately for Dreux, and passing Argentan and Valognes, was to embark at Cherbourg, where, by the kind forethought of his *good cousin the Duc d'Orleans*, he would find vessels prepared to bear him to the land of exile.* At 10 o'clock the order for departure was given, and we had scarcely formed our ranks on the road to Dreux, when the carriages of the King and the royal family, pre-

*It is curious enough to remark—1st, that the Lieutenant-General of the Kingdom made his old cousin pass through Cotentin (to go to the land of exile) the country that had been for three months ravaged by incendiaries, the blame of which the liberals had taken care to lay upon the government of Charles the Xth.—2ndly, that Cherbourg was chosen, in preference to every other place, for the embarkation of the King and his family, when Dieppe was sixty miles nearer, and would have been a less distance to Spithead; but Dieppe was a town where Mme. la Duchesse de Berry and the Duc de Bordeaux were adored; but Rouen, which must have been passed through, had been loaded with the gifts of the King and the Dauphine, and they were dear to the people. Cherbourg was the place fixed upon, because its population were workmen of the dock-yard, and would be easily excited.

ceded by that of M.M. les Commissaires, rolled slowly through our lines. They were surrounded by the Garde du Corps, two squadrons of which formed the advanced guard, and we brought up the rear in close order. And now again the same scenes of confusion were renewed. Many of the soldiers refused to march, and many quitted the ranks. A Captain of the light cavalry, M. Bureau de Pusy, had deserted with his squadron, following the example of Lieut. Col. de Chabannes, who had left the camp the evening before with nearly 300 men. Many other officers committed similar acts of insubordination, forgetting that the first duty of a soldier is submission, and obedience to the orders of his Commanders, how unreasonable soever those orders may be, and whatever repugnance and grief the execution of them may be to him. It was thus in the midst of confusion and disorder we proceeded a great part of our way. The populations of the country through which we passed, were silent and mournful ; towards evening we

Cotentin must be traversed, and agents sent forward would excite the people against the exiled family, and accuse them of paying the torches of the incendiaries ; it will be seen, the precautions of the *good cousin Orleans* were great, and he had abundance of good reasons for choosing Cherbourg!!!!

CHAPTER VII.

Thursday 5th of August—Departure of the King—Separation—Depouilles des Drapeau, &c.—The escort of the King—The Dauphin—Verneuil—Friday, the 6th—Departure for L'Aigle—Infamous conduct of the liberals of that town—Saturday, the 7th—Departure for Mellerault—The Dauphin has recovered his good humour—The Duchesse de Berry on horseback—The Marl. Maison knows how to bear privations, but does not know how to keep his oath—Sunday, the 8th—Departure for Argentan—Monday, the 9th, Sejour—News from Paris—France has a King!!—Delicacy of the inhabitants of Argentan—Mme. la Duchesse de Berri is much affected by this intelligence, she had such a high opinion of these Orleans—Tuesday the 10th, Condè sur Noireau—The National Guards become quarrelsome—Shall we be opposed or not?—These Messieurs de la Milice have the good taste to refuse to render military honors to the King—Reply of M. de la Maison Fort—le Marl. Marmont is recognized—He runs some risk, but the citizen soldiers have strangely lost their courage—Advantage of horse-whips with la Canaille—The pigeons are not worth plucking.

It was about 8 o'clock in the morning, on Thursday, the 5th of August, that the King quitted Dreux. At the moment when the cortège began to move, the regiments of the Gardes, who had been dismissed, and who were not allowed to follow the King, drew up on the road to Verneuil. The royal procession passed slowly through that long line of faithful troops, whose devotion having been checked, and their services dispensed with, now, as a tribute of fidelity and affection, placed themselves along the road by which the King was to pass, and for the last time, slowly, silently, and with tears in their eyes, presented those arms which they would joyfully have wielded against the enemies, and in defence of the cause of their lawful monarch, but which now, by the weakness of an old man, and through the cowardly treachery of his advisers, were broken, and rendered useless in their hands. With what sorrow did they witness the movement of those carriages, every roll of whose wheels crushed, and as it were, broke the hearts of these brave men; for, in addition to the poignancy of the grief they felt, at the departure of Charles X., they saw the royal child to whom they were all attached and whom they had looked upon with feelings

of pride, as their future King, torn from them, and carried into a land of exile. Oh ! with what intensity did they wish that this innocent and amiable child had been of sufficient age to place himself at their head, and, in imitation of his ancestor, Henry IV., recover for himself the royal diadem.

The cortège being passed, the standards belonging to each regiment were successively brought to the front of the line, with military honours, and the silk of which they were composed being cut into small pieces, was distributed to the soldiers. The tassels and fringes were kept by the colonels. This melancholy partition being over, and having taken leave of each other, the different regiments were marched off to their respective garrisons. The King's escort was composed of the troops of his household, consisting of about two thousand men, of four hundred men of the Gendarmerie d'Elite, and of a staff of about three hundred officers of all ranks, who having refused to leave the King and go with their regiments, had obtained permission to make part of the escort. Before we arrived at Valognes, so many officers had joined us, that their number was nearly doubled, and the escort now consisted of seven hundred. The dauphin, who was on horseback in the midst

of us, talked of the events which had taken place in Paris, with an extraordinary degree of cheerfulness. Madame la Duchesse de Berri, on the contrary, into whose hands had fallen (we know not by what means,) one of those infamous pamphlets against the legitimacy of her son, which had been distributed throughout the Province,* was a prey to the most bitter and melancholy feelings. It was five o'clock when we arrived at Verneuil, where that part of the populace, paid to create a disturbance, and which consisted entirely of a mob of the lower orders, received us, as at Dreux, with insults, but fortunately they did not reach the ear of the royal family; and we do but render justice to the municipal authorities in saying that they had taken every possible measure to prevent disorder. And, besides this, the determined appearance of the Gardes du Corps, who had stationed them-

* The Parisian presses laboured night and day in the publication of pamphlets, as ill written as they were injurious to the character and honour of the Duchesse de Berri, and even of the Dauphine. Of course, the good cousin Orleans could not prevent the publication of these charming productions, or hinder their being sent out of Paris. One of them was wickedly attributed to the Princess Adelaide, Mme. Athalin, sister of the King Philippe—what! to so good, so virtuous a woman!!!

selves round the house occupied by the King, assisted in restraining any violent demonstration on the part of this noisy mob; and a few strokes from the sides of our sabres silenced those even who were most zealous, or, we should with more truth say, who were best paid. The next morning, Friday, the 6th, at 6 o'clock, soon after sunrise, the advanced guard began its march towards l'Aigle, where they were to sleep. About eight o'clock, the royal family entered their carriages, round which the troops formed a guard, as they had done the previous day. Madame la Duchesse de Berri was on horseback, and apparently in better spirits, or at least more resigned than she had been the preceding evening. The Dauphin was really gay, and appeared to set his bad fortune at defiance.

About 10 o'clock, we were joined by nearly twenty officers, and some of the Gardes du Corps of the companies of Croi and de Noailles, whose arrival gave us pleasure, and whose costume amused us. The shooting dress, and leather gaiters, formed the most prominent part of the accoutrements of five or six of them. The others had only been able to find, out of all their wardrobes, at Versailles and St. Germain, a cap, or some parts of their half dress uniform, their quarters having been pillaged by the

populace.* They were received with great joy by their comrades, and the king having given horses to those who were without any, we proceeded on our route.

About 2 o'clock we passed through a village whose steeple was decorated by an immense Drapeau Tricolore. It was the only one visible, the inhabitants having had the good feeling to take away all that had been displayed before our arrival. About 4 o'clock we entered the small town of L'Aigle, where the Liberals had intended to give us rather an uncourteous reception ; but fortunately, a few officers, as well as the advanced guard which preceded us, had succeeded, partly by threats, and partly by persuasions, in inducing the inhabitants to withdraw the tricolor flags, with which the windows of the houses and cafés were decorated. One alone remained at the Café de la Nation, which we knew was the favorite resort of the canaille of the town, and the daily rendezvous of the republican party. During the night the

* The hotels of the Gardes du Corps, in Paris, at St. Germain and Versailles, were pillaged by the populace, and many of the officers lost their trunks and all their effects. The servants of some, under the pretext of serving their masters, assisted the people to break open the trunks, and also to steal the horses, which they sold in Paris, or at Rouen.

brave revolutionists, or liberals, to redeem their character for honour and courage, which had given way before the threats of the officers of the Gardes du Corps, and to gratify their revenge, introduced themselves into the coach-house, where the King's carriage had been left, unguarded, for the night, and scratched the arms, so as to erase the Fleur de Lis, an exploit worthy of the friends of Guizot, de Cases, Thiers, and Barthe. The next morning, Saturday, the 7th, we set out for Mellerault in the same order as the preceding evening; M.M. les Commissaires always taking the lead—as is the custom in England for the high sheriff to precede the convoy of an illustrious victim led to the scaffold.

During the route we were joined by some officers of the Grenadiers on horseback, some of the Gardes du Corps, and three or four officers of the civil and military household of the king. Nothing particular occurred on this day, which, however, like its predecessors, was rendered disagreeable by heat and dust. We met with the same silent and respectful sympathy from the inhabitants of some villages; but where the money of the Committee had succeeded in effecting the object for which it had been distributed, the same insulting and threatening

language. About five o'clock, we arrived at Mellerault, where the municipal authorities had taken proper measures to preserve tranquillity, and had succeeded, notwithstanding the endeavours of the agents of the Comité Révolutionnaire. The night was cold, and a little rain fell towards the morning. According to the *orders received*, the King was to remain at Mellerault all the day of the 8th, which was Sunday; but after having heard mass in his apartments, he intimated to M.M. les Commissaires, his intention of continuing his journey, and at nine o'clock set out for Argentan.* The weather was much more agreeable from the rain which had fallen in the night, and having become considerably cooler, we had no dust to incommode us, and the atmosphere was refreshing. The day also being Sunday, all that we saw and met upon the road gave the idea of a holyday. Madame la Duchesse de Berry, on horseback, by the side of the Dauphin, tried also by her kind words and manner to raise the spirits of the staff, and numerous

* M.M. les Commissaires were much vexed at this determination of the King; and their agents and couriers, who were much surprised at seeing us arrive at Argentan before them, were still more annoyed. It will be seen how they revenged themselves at Condé sur Noireau.

officers who escorted them. But M.M. les Commissaires, whose carriage preceded us, and of whom no one took any notice, were much chagrined at seeing all the tricolor flags disappear on the approach of the King. The fact was, that the agents of the Comité, reckoning upon his remaining at Mellerault during Sunday, were at fault; they had not been informed till too late of the King's intention of proceeding, and had therefore been unable to get in advance of the royal cortège, which they had always done since leaving Rambouillet; and consequently the people, left to their natural feelings, and not incited by their money, and poisonous calumnies, did not manifest the slightest symptom of hostility, but on the contrary, shewed respect and sympathy for the royal family. We could not help also being amused at the triste appearance of M.M. les Commissaires, at those hours when the cortège halted for breakfast; they did their *possible* to guard against disappointment, by sending their orders in advance—but some of our officers always contrived to be before them; and partly from the love of mischief and to amuse themselves at their expence, bought and took possession of every thing, leaving the table of M.M. les Commissaires very scantily provided for. Le Mal.

Maison, a man accustomed to privations, bore his fate with great good humour, but his two colleagues, whose only campaigns had been from the Palais de Justice to the Chambre des Deputés, and from the Chambre des Deputés to the excellent dinners of the Banker Lafitte, or the Duc d'Orleans, were much distressed by the smallness of the pittance with which they were obliged to be satisfied for their breakfasts. The enormous appetite of M. Schonen, more particularly, gave rise to many bon mots at his expense. It was still early when we arrived at Argentan, where the entire population conducted themselves with even more delicacy and good feeling, than we had yet met with on our route. Not one tricoloured flag was there seen to annoy and offend the King's sight—not one word of insult was breathed, and every head was uncovered on his approach. Scarcely were the ranks broken, the posts established, and the orders received and transmitted, than a great number of the most respectable inhabitants went to the Bivouac, inviting the Gardes du Corps, and many of the other officers, to their houses, where they said they would find dinners and beds; and in fact, in a very short time there only remained at the bivouac the detachment on service, all the rest having accepted the kind

invitations that had been so cordially given, and each found that which had been promised, and a kind reception. This benevolent disposition, and generous conduct of the inhabitants of Argentan, induced the King to prolong his stay, and remain there on Monday, in order to give a little rest to both men and horses, who were much in need of it.* M.M. les Commissaires did not approve of this arrangement, but they could not go so far as to oppose the wishes of the King, and thus we passed the whole of Monday the 9th at Argentan, in the different houses and quarters so generously prepared for us by the inhabitants; the only event which occurred was the arrival of about fifty officers and Gardes du Corps; and also towards the evening, diligences and carriages from Paris made their appearance full of men, with large favours, white hats, and tricoloured cockades, in imitation of the idol of the day, the Duc d'Orleans; these men were mostly agents from the Comité Revolutionnaire, sent to precede us to Cherbourg, to excite the population to that state of violence, of which we shall have occasion to

* It will be remembered, that we had several men and horses wounded at Coignères and Rambouillet; the horses, especially, fatigued by heat and dust, had suffered much and needed repose.

speak hereafter. The rain which had fallen during part of the evening had made the atmosphere much colder, and rendered the bivouac very uncomfortable.

The following day, Tuesday the 10th, early in the morning, we were informed of the *great news* which had been brought in the night from Paris, by a special Courier of the cabinet, to M.M. les Commissaires, and also by an express to the magistrates of the town. This news *we* had expected to hear for some days, and therefore when it was announced to us that Louis Philippe was King, we were not much surprised; it appeared to us, as but the natural consequence of the events which had taken place, and we knew that it had been to effect this object that he and his friends had been labouring for so many years—but to Mme. la Duchesse de Berry, to the King, and all the royal family, it came as a shock from a thunder bolt.

The old King would not have believed it, had not the intelligence been conveyed to him officially by M.M. les Commissaires.—What! le Duc d'Orleans King of France, in defiance of the ties of kindred, and of all laws of honour and of duty—he who so short a time ago, as when Charles the 10th was at Rambouillet, sent to him to say “*that he would only accept the of-*

fice of Lieutenant General of the Kingdom, that he might preserve the crown for Henry the 5th !"*

Mme. la Duchesse de Berry could not dissemble the grief and indignation which she felt. Mme. la Dauphine alone shewed no surprise, and said, "I well knew that these Orleans were playing the part of the viper of la Fontaine."† The King and the princes were much affected by the regrets of the inhabitants of Argentan, who nobly and with the truest sympathy expressed their sorrow, that such overwhelming intelligence should have been received by the King in their town; and it was surrounded by people shewing the deepest commiseration, and followed by the good wishes of all, that the royal family entered their carriages and proceeded to Condé sur Noireau; but there a different scene awaited us; a demonstration of a

*M. le Duc de Mortemart was, I beleive, the bearer of the assurance to Charles X. (from the Duc d'Orléans) that he would only accept the Lieutenancy of the Kingdom in order to save France from anarchy, and *to preserve the crown for the Duc de Bordeaux.*

† It will be recollected that Mme. la Dauphine, on arriving at Coignères, enquired if the Orléans were with the King? and being answered by an officer in the negative, she cried, "*We are lost,*" or, "*All is lost ! !*"

revolutionary nature had been prepared, and but for the interposition of M.M. les Commissaires, blood would have been shed. The National Guards, in arms, shewed themselves, and wished to oppose the passage of the King and his escort ; but when the Gardes du Corps, the gendarmes and officers, forming the vanguard, drew their swords, and declaring that they would sooner die than allow the shadow of an insult to be offered to the King, then M.M. les Commissaires interfered, and le General Maison spoke to these citizen soldiers in a tone which proved he meant to be obeyed ; * and they consented to allow a free passage to the King, but at the same time deputing one of their chef de bataillon to say "*that the National Guard would not render military honours to the King.*" "Monsieur," replied

* M. le Marechal Maison, in every circumstance in which he was called upon to act, showed a firmness and delicacy of behaviour which the King could not help appreciating. In speaking of M.M. les Commissaires, he was heard to say, "*No fear of my escaping. I am guarded by a wolf and two foxes.*" We suppose le Marechal was the wolf, and M. Schonen and M. Odilon Barrot, the two foxes. Our soldiers had given them another denomination ;—they called le Marechal, General le Coq, and the two others, les poulets d'Inde.

M. de la Maison Fort (an officer of the company of Noailles) to this *Lafayette* of Condé, "Will you have the kindness to make known to the National Guard under your command, that the King considers himself honoured by your refusal; and will you say to them, from the Gardes du Corps and the officers who compose the escort, that this is the condition we should certainly have imposed upon them." The poor chef de bataillon hung his head, and did not know which way to look. M.M. Schonen and Odilon Barrot appeared almost equally astonished, and le Mal. Maison could not refrain from laughing at the grotesque figures and evident embarrassment of these poor National Guards, who were as much ashamed of themselves as if they had been taken prisoners by an enemy, and who had patiently to endure all the jokes and sarcasms of our soldiers, who did not spare them.* The King took up his abode in

*"Is this the poultry market?" cried one of the young subalterns, to an officer of the National Guards, "that there are so many pigeons?" (a name given to the National Guards). "Serjeant," said one of the Gardes du Corps, to a young dandy, whose head looked so well frizzed, he was taken for a barber, "What do you charge for shaving and hair dressing? leave me your address." "Are you not a snuff-seller?" cried another, to a grotesque figure in the centre, "give me a little." "What

the house of a protestant by whom it had been offered to him ; scarcely was the bivouac established when there arose a report, that le Mal. Marmont had been recognised, and that a considerable crowd opposite the house in which he lodged, threatened to set fire to it, and demanded that the traitor should be given up to them ; but upon M. de la Maison Fort going to the spot with a squadron of the Gardes du Corps, applying a few strokes of the flat of their swords and a horsewhip to some of the most mutinous, the mob dispersed, and the most perfect order and silence were established ; but, nevertheless, it was thought prudent to leave a piquet to protect the house of the Marshal during the night.

The officers were soon dispersed all over the town ; and in the cafés most frequented by the liberals, determined to plague the poor National Guards, who had come to insult the King, and had fancied themselves so redoubtable a force ; they were met on all sides by the most bitter

do the pigeons sell for, with their arms and accoutrements ?” cried another voice ; and a hundred other jokes which they made to torment the poor shop-keepers of Condé. It was much worse in the coffee-houses, in the evening. Our young officers played them many excellent tricks.

and satirical jokes; and in one of the cafés three of the young officers turned out about five and twenty of these brave men, by a few strokes of a horse whip, which they bore most patiently, for the love of Louis Philippe; and the following day, during our march, we were amused by the recital of the tricks played upon these *would-be soldiers*, who, because they had a sabre on one side, and a gun as big as themselves on the other, with a tri-coloured cockade in their hats, imagined themselves very formidable, and that we should quietly submit to their opposing the progress of the King; but as, our soldiers remarked, "The pigeons were not worth having, they were too easily plucked."

CHAPTER VIII.

Wednesday 11th of August—Still M.M. the Commissaires wish to frighten the poor old King—Departure for Virè—La Canaille there the same as elsewhere—The effect of three francs distributed by M.M. the travelling agents—The chateau of Thoriguy, and M. le Prince de Monaco—Our young officers amuse themselves at his expense—Arrival at St. Lo.—The Hotel de la Prefecture—M. le Comte d'Estourmel in the dress of a gentleman of the chamber—M. le Marechal Maison is not at his ease, and does not like lessons of fidelity—Honorable conduct of the inhabitants of St. Lo—Why should they not follow the example of M. le Marechal Maison and so many others? We again hear reports which cause alarm—The Comité of Paris is fertile in resources—The Commissaries announce to the King in the night that he cannot possibly continue his route towards Cherbourg, the whole population being raised to oppose him—Charles X. the incendiary, the *Tyrant*, the *Devourer of men*, the *Drinker of Blood*; but before all this he was Le Bien Aimé!!!—The honourable M. de la Pommeraie and his

honourable friends—Brilliant campaign of General Hulot, and of his 30,000 pretended men or heroes—The route free—Thursday, 12th—Carentan—An old servant who has never known how to be a courtier, remains Chief of Battalion—Departure from Carentan—The inhabitants testify only sympathy, to the great confusion of the Commissaries—Valoques, Friday, 14th.

RAIN having fallen during the greatest part of the night, and the atmosphere being considerably colder, the bivouac had been very uncomfortable. In the morning there was great anxiety in the chateau, and we were soon apprized of the cause. M.M. les Commissaires, had received during the night instructions from the *Comité Gouvernant* in Paris, and had alarmed the King and royal family by representing to them that the populations would rise en masse, to oppose their progress—it is not for us to say from what motives they acted in doing this—it might have been in accordance with orders they had received, or they may only have consulted their own fears, excited by the imposing and energetic appearance of the King's escort, which increased every hour; or perhaps having seen the cavalier manner in which the National Guard had been treated the evening before at Condé sur Noireau, they imagined that similar

disappointments and humiliations might await them ; or whether they really acted from conviction, I know not ; but they told the King that he could not be ignorant that malevolence and *calumny* had pointed him out to the inhabitants of Cotentin, as the instigator of those incendiaries which during four months had laid waste that province ;* that in consequence of the irritation produced by these calumnies, all the populations of the countries through which he was to pass on his way to Cherbourg, had risen en masse, and had established a National Guard (which according to the account received consisted of 30 or 40,000 men) who threatened to oppose his march, and to massacre his escort,

* No one is ignorant of the fact, that four months before the Revolution of July, this province was desolated by incendiaries daily repeated, and that all the measures taken by the authorities were of no avail in arresting their progress ; it is also well known that the *Loyal papers of the Comité Revolutionnaire*, and still more their agents, published throughout all France that those incendiaries were instigated by the Government, and it was well known that such an impression had been made upon a considerable portion of the deluded populations. And yet the provisionary Government allowed the King and those of his troops who were faithful to him, to pass through a country the population of which had been taught to look upon him as the author of their misfortunes. It was a great piece of impudence, if not of knavery!

&c. &c.* M.M. les Commissaires would have found more difficulty in persuading the old King to act from the influence of fear, had the danger they threatened been only personal; he would then have despised it; but his family, his officers, his guard, he would not endanger them, and resolved, therefore, according to the suggestion

* All the accounts of insurrection and opposition were grossly exaggerated—but we mention some things we heard on our route, and which M. de la Pommeraie, a man eminent in the Chamber of Deputies, could not deny†—which were, that conciliabules, or meetings were formed at Caen and St. Lo, and in several other towns in Normandy, where the question was debated whether the King should not be arrested, and with all the members of his family, confined in some fortified place as hostages, in case there should be any interference on the part of foreign powers. M. de la Pommeraie presided himself, at one of these clubs at Caen, where this very question was debated; this cannot be denied, neither the fact that agents were sent upon all the roads by which the Royal party were to pass, to disseminate the basest calumnies, to distribute money, and to excite the people against the old King. Thus when M.M. les Commissaires frightened Charles X. by all these exaggerated accounts, they spoke what they thought might probably be the case, and not what they knew had actually occurred; they were placed by the orders of the Comité Directeur, which they were bound to follow, in a very embarrassing situation, their statements having to be so different to the real facts.

† M. de la Pommeraie was alive when first this paragraph was written.

of M.M. les Commissaires, to make the people of his household lay aside the royal livery. They presumed upon this to suggest also the necessity of putting down the white cockade ;* but the chivalric old King received the proposition with such indignation, that they regretted having made it.

These conferences being over, M.M. les Commissaires got into their carriages to precede the King, and as they said, to clear the road for him ; and the escort in close order, surrounding the Royal carriages, they began their march. As we proceeded on our route, we met upon the

* The Revolutionists of July altered the White to the Tricolor flag, which they call the National Colours—we on the contrary assert, and will prove, that the white flag was always the National standard, and that the tricolor colours are only the private livery of the Orléans family. We will prove this by an appeal to history. It was under the Drapeau blanc that Clovis marched against the barbarian Alaric ; Charlemagne, Philippe 1st., Philippe 2nd., and St. Louis fought under the white oriflamme of St. Denys—Charles 7th, Francis 1st, Henry 4th, Louis 14th, and all his descendants, preserved le blanc Etendard fleurs de Lysé. It was at the end of 89, after the famous day of the Jeu de Paume, that the Drapeau blanc of the nation was laid aside for the tricolor colours, which were merely the livery of the house of Orléans, the chief of which, Philippe, called Prince Egalité, father of the reigning King, Philippe 1st., was at the head of the Revolution, and then exiled by the King, Louis XVI.

roads people who took off their hats, and showed every mark of respect, and we arrived at Virè, where the population did not manifest the least sign of hostility. There may have been some few words, some single instances of insolence, but the stroke of a whip administered judiciously soon silenced them ; and besides, M.M. the travelling agents who had paid people to inveigh against the King, were not there to see that the compact was faithfully fulfilled. After a halt of about an hour, we were again *en route*. We very soon arrived at the park and gardens of the chateau of Thorigny, then inhabited by M. le Prince de Monaco, who was there with his family;* but contrary to the expectation of many amongst us, and of the King himself, no one appeared at the grille of the park, to invite the exiled Royal family to a few moments repose at Thorigny, the owner of which had been so often received at the Tuilleries. Many of us, and more especially the Garde du Corps, who had over and over again

* M. le Prince de Monaco had been as well as his family, loaded with benefits by the Bourbons, and had always been one of the most assiduous visitors at the court, and the most indefatigable in paying his respects. There were amongst us very few officers who had not over and over again remarked his servile and obsequious manner, and which was evident to the eyes of all.

seen the obsequious manner of M. le Prince de Monaco when at the chateau, now indulged in severe jokes and bitter sarcasms against the courtier prince, and for some time they amused themselves at his expense ; and notwithstanding the discomfort occasioned by incessant rain, and the bad state of the roads, which were become intolerable, they continued their march, enlivening themselves with a thousand jokes which a French soldier takes with him everywhere, and by those natural feelings of gaiety, which are one of the most striking traits in the character of this amiable, trifling, and careless nation. The population who thronged the road, were far from showing that hostility and irritation which M.M. les Commissaires had, together with the danger awaiting us, so benevolently depicted. And this was an additional proof to us, that the Commissaries had acted from *Instructions from the Palais Royal*, and that M.M. the travelling commissaries and agents, notwithstanding their exertions and the money which they had distributed upon the route, in advance of the Royal cortège, had met with much incredulity, and but little success.*

* Several persons had the honesty to own that they received three francs to cry " Down with the King and the white cock-

It was four o'clock in the evening when we arrived at St. Lo, after a very long and fatiguing day's journey. The royal family were accommodated at the Hotel de la Prefecture, where M. le Comte d'Estourmel* was in waiting to receive them with the same respect and reverence, that the loyal prefect had displayed a year before, when Mad. la

ade," and we know most positively, that a number of persons, more than six hundred, calling themselves travelling agents, were scattered all over the country, distributing newspapers, slanderous pamphlets, and also money.

* M. le Comte d'Estourmel, who had waited to give in his resignation till the King should be at St. Lo, finished his duties of prefect nobly, and in a manner which did credit to his feelings; it was in the dress of Chamberlain to the King, that he received the royal family, and was not ashamed of showing his attachment to them in a season of adversity. M. d'Estourmel did not possess, like the Prince de Monaco, an independent fortune of 100 or 120,000 francs yearly; but one was merely a courtier, and of the new aristocracy of a quarter of a century, and the other a noble of an ancient, and high-minded race, who regarded honour before wealth and preferment. Our readers must also know that M. le Prince de Monaco is son of the celebrated Mme. Tallien, &c., &c., now Princess de Chimay, &c., &c. It must also be said that the large estates of Chimay, Monaco, and other places, given to Mme. Tallien by Danton, Cambaceres, Tallien and other honorables of 93, have been confirmed to their children, by Louis XVIII.

Dauphine honoured the town of St Lo by a visit.* All the arrangements for the service of the King's table had been placed under the direction of his own Maître d'Hotel, M. le Comte Hocquart, and were made with the same forms and in the same manner as in the days of his splendour and prosperity. The conduct of the inhabitants of St. Lo was very nearly what M.M. les Commissaires had represented to the King that it would be; the most insulting and menacing cries were uttered even under the windows of the chateau. Many of the Gardes du Corps and others of the officers were insulted and menaced, to which they replied with their horse whips; yet notwithstanding this evident hostility on the part of the population, two hours after our arrival, all the Hotels and Cafés were left at our disposal. M.M. the travelling agents of the committee of Paris,

* In a visit Mme. la Dauphin had paid at St. Lo, a year before, she had seen at her feet the richest and most influential people of the town, and its environs. All that the basest servility could devise to flatter and pay court to her, was then lavished by the same men, who now assembled to deliberate, whether they should not arrest herself and all the royal family, and who actually contributed to pay the agents who slandered them, and excited the people to rebellion. Yes, it was the valets of these very men, who came under the windows to insult the Royal family; this however is a town which Philippe Ist. calls *his good town*.

whose tongues were so busy, and whose arms were so strong before our arrival, had the politeness to leave the dinners which had been ordered for themselves, for our benefit, and the amiable National Guards had the extreme attention when they saw us enter the Cafés, to yield to us the tables which they occupied. We found in the town many of the Gardes du Corps and officers who were expecting the King ; they had gone there hoping that they might meet him, but totally ignorant of the route which he had taken, and where he was on his journey.* At St. Lo,

* It is very remarkable that the papers in the interests of the new government, were a long time without mentioning the route that Charles X. had taken : they certainly did say that Cherbourg was to be the place of his embarkation, but by what road he was to go, how he was to go, and when he was to be there, not one word upon the subject. In consequence many of the Gardes du Corps and officers, who were on leave when these events occurred, were not able to join till too late, and had also been detained upon the road, when they had hazarded any questions. Did the new government know this ? Yes, and they also knew very well who were the officers away from their respective corps, and felt all the advantage it was to their cause, that the King was only surrounded by half his guard ; for by an unfortunate fatality, or want of forethought, which characterized all the acts of the Ministry, before, at the time, and after the publication of the ordonnances, half of the Gardes du Corps, and of the officers of the Garde were away on leave.

the escort was also increased by many brave Vendéens, and Britons, who on the first rumour of the events which were taking place had hastened towards Paris, where they arrived too late, but resolved to join the King, they had proceeded to St. Lo.

In the evening M.M. les Commissaires demanded an audience of the King to inform him *of the painful intelligence with which they had just been made acquainted*, and which was, that the National Guards of Cotentin, provided with several pieces of cannon, were marching upon Carentan, to oppose his passage. Charles X. having been already several times deceived by the stories and phantoms conjured up to alarm him, by M.M. Schonen, Odillon Barrot, and Maison, was become more incredulous ; and he replied to those gentlemen, “ that the intelligence was probably incorrect, that he was firmly convinced that *neither himself or family run any risk in the country of France* ; but that if there should be any obstacles or difficulties, it would be for them, the Commissaires of the new government entrusted with his safety, to smooth and obviate them. M. M. les Commissaires felt aware that they well merited this lesson from the old King, but as unfortunately

upon this occasion, the reports were too well founded, they immediately took measures to prevent anything disagreeable from occurring ; they assembled the officers of the National Guard of St. Lo, and had not much difficulty in obtaining a promise from them that they would not leave the town ; after which they set out for Carentan, where they found General Hulot,* at the head of a column of five or six thousand men, with some pieces of cannon, planted upon the heights which overlook the town, determined they said to overthrow the King and his escort if they attempted to enter Carentan. The Marechal Maison, much annoyed, and out of humour by these vexatious occurrences, and meeting with opposition from General Hulot, resumed his authority, and after a severe reprimand, which was concluded by saying that he should have him shot, he ordered him positively to give up a command which

* M. le Gen. Hulot was brother of Mme. la Marechale Moreau; they had both of them received the greatest marks of kindness from the royal family. From a simple Chef d'Escadron, Hulot had been promoted by Louis XVIII. to the rank which he then held. It is said that having formed habits of drunkenness, he no longer associated with good company ; whether this is true or not, he committed a great folly in this Echafourée at Carenton.

did not belong, by any right, to him, and pointing out with his finger the direction of Cherbourg, ordered him instantly to put himself and column *en route* for that place.* The poor general, ashamed and confused, obeyed, without the necessity of giving the order for returning to his noble phalanx, of which a great part having already disbanded itself, retreated as it came, without discipline or order, swearing at the old drunkard who had taken them from their firesides and cafés at Cherbourg, to drag them there — cursing the rain, which had not ceased pouring down upon them during their journey from Cherbourg, and which threatened to accompany them back again, The following evening, all the heroes who had taken part in this memorable campaign, were seen returning into Cherbourg, pêle mêle, covered with dirt from head to foot; many also being scarcely able to walk, owing to their boots being too tight, † all

* We must render justice to M. le Marl. Maison, who acted with great energy upon every occasion when it was necessary, and knew how to enforce obedience. We all know that the voices of celebrated lawyers have considerable influence in a court of justice, where everything is arranged in order, but how different is an insurrection! I heard some of the National Guards say that M. Schonen was pale from fright—this is a calumny, it was only fatigue.

† Many of them had boots, as if for a parade.

silent and crestfallen, -very different from what they appeared when they set out on their expedition, and inwardly vowing that they would never again subject themselves to the *désagrèmens* and fatigues of another campaign.* M.M. les Commissaires having informed the King that the road was now clear, he gave the order for our departure, and towards 10 o'clock the cortège began to move, increased by more than a hundred officers of all ranks and grades, who had joined it. We all remarked during the route the melancholy and sorrow of the Dauphine, who, having been made acquainted with the scenes that had taken place at St. Lo, and having witnessed the hostile behaviour of some of the National Guards, was, no doubt, occupied by melancholy reflections upon the inconsistency of human nature; she, who a year before had seen the whole population of St. Lo at her feet, and had heard the most obsequious language, and expressions of devotion from the mouths of these same men, who now uttered menaces and insults under the very windows

* The vexatious results of this campaign were productive of much disappointment; those who hoped to be directors of the Bureau de Tabac, or of the Perception, or to be toll receivers, did not dare to boast of having taken part in this famous campaign.

of the King, and of his family. It was 4 o'clock when we arrived at Carentan; the inhabitants at first did not appear to derive any pleasure from our appearance there, but confidence and cordiality were soon established, and all being arranged in the best possible manner, there were very few of us who did not meet with a hearty welcome, with a good fire, good dinner, and comfortable lodging.* The King was received with military honours by the brave commandant of the fort, (M. de Busselot,) who having placed his small garrison under arms,

* I can declare, upon my word of honor, that in the house where I lodged, with another officer, the owner, who received us at first with marked coldness, acknowledged to us afterwards, that during two days the town of Carentan had been filled with travelling agents, who had spread the most calumnious reports against the King, his family, and guard. One of these reports was that the King had caused the Public Treasury to be pillaged, and that he had with him, not only two waggons loaded with gold and precious stones, but that each officer of the Garde du Corps, carried about on their persons an immense sum of money. They related also that at Rambouillet we had slain many of the people, and that by an order of the King's, five or six women, who had brought provisions to the soldiers, had been publicly whipped, and put to death. I only repeat here, upon the authority of a respectable man, two out of the many thousand calumnies which were propagated against the royal party.

gave them to the King as a guard of honour, during his stay at Carentan. In the evening, le commandant de Busselot came to present his respects to the King, and to the royal family, who received him as his well-known loyalty, his long and honourable services, and his rare devotion to their cause merited. The Dauphin especially, who had known him personally, previous to this time, treated him with particular marks of distinction. The courtiers who surrounded the Prince followed the example of their royal master, and the brave commandant found himself all at once the object of flatteries and praises to which he was unaccustomed. His blunt military manner gave rise to some amusing scenes.* The following day, Friday, 15th, the

* Le Commandant de Busselot, an officer full of loyalty and merit, was, I believe, for fifteen years in the same rank. The extreme attention and praises which the King and the Dauphin lavished upon him, was imitated by the courtiers. But de Busselot had not forgotten their treatment of former days, (when, being covered with wounds, and having faithfully served his king for many years,) he wished to gain access to his royal master, he had been repulsed by these very courtiers, who now extolled him so highly, and in the presence of the Dauphin he said to them, "And why, gentlemen, since you now so much approve of my conduct and loyalty, had you so different an opinion of me, in those days when you shut the doors, and denied me access either to the Dauphin or his minis-

King gave the order for our departure for Valognes. The adieus of the inhabitants of Carentan, who lined the sides of the roads to see the King pass, and who had met us on our arrival with threats and insults, were now full of respect and sympathy. For some miles of the road, a crowd of country people ran by the side of the cortège to see the royal family, and by their respectful silence, tears, and the empressment with which they took off their hats as the King approached, proved that instead of the hostile intentions which had been attributed to them, they felt the deepest commiseration for his misfortunes. In the little town of Montebourg, through which we passed, we were re-

ter; you had then everything in your own hands—honours and emoluments; to us belonged wounds and hard service. M. le Dauphin," continued the brave Commandant; "if the King had always been surrounded by men of a different description to these fair spoken courtiers, his crown would not now be upon the head of his *good cousin of Orléans*." The Dauphin laughed heartily at the blunt honesty of the brave commandant, but must have felt the truth of his observations. On the following day, at the departure of the King, he resigned his command. What is now become of the Commandant de Busselot we do not know; but this we learn, from the government papers, that many of the courtiers, to whom he addressed these reproaches, are now inhabitants of the Chateau, and friends of Louis Philippe.

ceived by an immense crowd of people, who had assembled there from all the surrounding villages, and who expressed, in the strongest manner, their regret for the circumstances which had occurred, and their affection for the royal family, and the young Duc de Bordeaux, who, as well as his charming sister, were more especially objects of love and sympathy, which was demonstrated in the most evident manner; we saw tears of regret and affection, at the sight of these two children, whose little heads, covered with a profusion of fair hair, and whose faces beamed with grateful confidence, were all the time occupied in showing that they felt sensible of the kindness and love of which they were the objects. The Duchesse de Berri, and the noble Dauphine, were deeply affected by it. Almost everywhere on our route tricolor flags had been taken down, and the most decided proofs of respect, sympathy, and devotion, were given to this unfortunate family. It appeared that the greater the distance between us and Paris, (that hot-bed of vice, immorality, and corruption,) the stronger became the marks of loyalty and respect, such as a subject ought to feel for his sovereign, and that sovereign, at this very time, sacrificing himself to what he had

been taught to believe were the wishes of the people.

The nearer this ill-fated family came to the end of their journey, (and the more hopeless was the feeling that it was all in vain,) the deeper became their conviction, and that of all around them, that the sentiments which pervaded Paris and its environs, had not extended throughout France; that the provinces in no way resembled the capital, and that the feelings of the peasantry were very different from those of the inhabitants of the towns. This was clearly perceived by M.M. les Commissaires, who bit their lips, and looked on with feelings of disappointed malice. It was between three and four o'clock when we arrived at Valognes, where the king alighted at the hotel of M. de Menildot, who had placed it at the disposal of the royal family. There we again met with many of our comrades, and a population full of sympathy and benevolence; and there the King and noble Dauphine once more found that consolation and alleviation of their sorrows, which their feelings, so often and rudely wounded, required.

CHAPTER IX.

Valognes—The escort is increased—Difficulty of finding lodgings—The obliging conduct of the inhabitants of Valognes—Saturday the 4th, visit to the Bivouac—Baskets of Bordeaux Wine—Uniform of St. Cyr—Letters from Cherbourg are sent for—Rencontre of Hulot's division—The town of Cherbourg is occupied by the agents of the Comité, disguised as Englishmen, and as travelling Commissaires—More of our companions—Montegaut the Boot Maker of the Dauphin, comes to give a lesson to the courtiers—Le Chevalier Ogherty—An audience of the Dauphine—The Vendéen uniform, and that of the royal volunteers of 1825—M. Guizot and the *cours prevotales*—News from Paris, and the General Marquis de Latour Maubourg—Marseilles, Nantes, Poitiers, Vannes, had also preserved their Drapeaux blancs—A toast to the old General of Invalids and to Donnadieu, Despinois, Partonaux, St. Berlin, Chateaubriand, and de Noirville.

WE have already stated that we found a great number of officers at Valognes, who having been at Cherbourg to wait for the King, came

there to meet him as soon as they knew that he was arrived. It may be easily imagined with what pleasure they were received by the King and royal family, as well as by their comrades. The escort being thus increased during the last three days by upwards of 120 officers, it was difficult to procure lodgings, Valognes being a very small town; but the kindness of the inhabitants, almost entirely devoted to the person and family of Charles X., soon smoothed every difficulty; they came out to us upon the Place d'Armes, round the chateau occupied by the King, and with the greatest hospitality and kind feeling offered us beds and dinners at their houses; this offer, as will be imagined, was accepted with gratitude, and most of the houses received each three or four officers. The rain from having been incessant, had rendered the bivouac very uncomfortable. Many of the Garde du Corps had their clothes thoroughly saturated with wet, and nothing to change. We pitied them the more from feeling the comfort of our own situation, which had been rendered so by the obliging hospitalities we had received, but which it was impossible all could partake of. For myself, I cannot complain of the lot which fell to my share. I found myself with three other officers in one of the best houses of the

town ; it was, as far as I recollect, that of a magistrate, who was one of the members of the Tribunal at Valognes ; he gave us an invitation to supper with his own family, which we thankfully accepted, as having been detained at the chateau, we had been late for dinner. The kind-hearted magistrate received us with that polite and easy manner which is only acquired in good society—and before supper was over, we were all well acquainted ; our host was the first to throw off any constraint, and expressed openly his regrets at the revolution of July and its consequences. He was a sensible and reflecting man—the fears which wisdom and experience presented to his mind, at the view of events so utterly subversive of order, and the misfortunes which he foresaw they would bring upon his country, were suggested not only by his attachment to the great governing principle of legitimacy, but also by the dark prospects which opened for the future, dependant as it would be upon the new order of things, placed upon so false and uncertain a basis. He was a man of a strong and healthy tone of mind, who was able to form a just estimate of events ; he shewed where had been the errors of the system pursued by the government and the ministers since 1825, clearly pointing them

out with the facility and cleverness of a man accustomed to the study of the subject upon which he gave his opinion. He appeared to us to understand with great accuracy the relative positions of the government of Charles X. and the opposition, by whom it had been seen so gradually undermined, notwithstanding the temporary advantage gained by the conquest of Algiers. He gave us a brief but just sketch of the last two years—he was well acquainted with the characters of the principal men of the day, and had gained experience from the events which had succeeded each other since 1814. Some years older than the King Philippe, he had been a witness of the first revolution, had known Tallien, Mirabeau, Lepelletier de St. Fargeau, and above all, Talleyrand; he had seen the young Duc de Chartres (now Louis Philippe) when he was between nineteen and twenty years old, just before the death of Louis XVI;*

* He related an anecdote, which I had previously heard of the young Duc de Chartres, (now King Philippe.) It was at the moment when the Convention, assembled for the condemnation of the King Louis XVI. listened with mad impatience and ill disguised rage, to his defence by M. de Seze, that one of the followers of the Duc d'Orleans, Lacroix I believe, having approached his son, the young Duc de Chartres, and telling him of the effect this discourse and defence of the King

and he looked upon him as *born to be the enemy* of the eldest branch; he now saw reappearing with the revolution of July, many of the same men who had taken an active part in the first, and he saw that the same circumstances had caused it. The same disloyalty and hypocrisy on one side, and the same want of forethought, the same blind inconsideration and weakness on the other. He regarded it as a blessing to France that the Duc d'Orleans had been able to gain over General Lafayette to his views; General Lafayette, with all the weight of his name and influence—General Lafayette, who (said our host) had openly and conscientiously laboured for the overthrow of the eldest branch, not to put the crown upon the head of Louis Philippe, but to establish a republic in France; this had been the dream of his whole life, and he thanked heaven, that Louis Philippe by gaining him over to assist him in his ambitious projects, had prevented the proclamation of a republic, which he said would have been a second edition of that of

was likely to produce upon many of the members, (the young man replied in a tone of vexation,) “*Mon Dieu!* what consideration and hesitation there is about the life of one man!” Our host had also a variety of anecdotes about Marat, Danton, Lepelletier de St. Fargeau, and the Prince Philippe Egalité, whose face was spit upon by Citizen Chaumette, one day in a drunken orgie—and many similar facts.

ninety-three, with fewer horrors and atrocities no doubt, but in which much noble blood would have been shed, and which would have plunged our unhappy country into an abyss of misery. He added, that all men of sense, who were true friends to their country, would rally round the throne, as the only guarantee of safety against anarchy and popular despotism which France now possesses, and he entreated us to submit to this government of lawyers, false, deceitful, and unworthy, though he acknowledged it to be, because, said he, it is better for France of 1830, to be governed by lawyers and wine-merchants, than by savage butchers and brutal shoemakers, as it was in 1793. He had not been deceived for a single moment as to the intentions of the Duc d'Orleans (now King); he had followed with a penetrating and sagacious observation, all the actions of this family since the assassination of the Duc de Berry; and he expressed himself as only astonished at one thing; namely, that the government of Charles X. had not been overthrown two years sooner. Everything in this man shewed great penetration united with knowledge, and a correct appreciation of men and events. His observations appeared to have matured his opinions, under the daily action of experience and conviction,

conversation, which has remained so vividly impressed upon my mind, as to enable me to repeat it almost entirely, and I trust I shall be pardoned for dwelling so long upon this subject, but I look upon it as one of great interest and importance; and in making known the opinions of a good man, conscientiously attached to the family of Charles X., I have given a reason for the conduct of many officers and some of my dearest friends and comrades, who, having again taken service under Louis Philippe, have met in the present army with promotion, well merited by their characters and noble conduct. * The following morning, Saturday the 14th, at day-break, we went to the bivouac, where we

by the revolution, would regret that the grand principle of Legitimacy had been overthrown; and that the Nation would call for the young Henry, to soothe its wounds, and restore order and tranquillity.

* If we are asked why we did not do likewise, we reply, that it is not because we condemn their conduct: but that, in our case, circumstances were different. That fate having thrown us into La Vendée, and being there made prisoners, we could not, that is, morally speaking, accept service under, and swear fidelity to a government, now that it was established and recognised, which we had previously endeavoured to overthrow; and who had made us pay by six months of the most severe and tyrannical captivity, for the folly of which we had been guilty in allowing ourselves to be *taken prisoners*.

heard that many of the rich inhabitants had with the greatest consideration and kindness, sent baskets of Burgundy and Bordeaux wine, and excellent brandy, to our poor comrades suffering from cold and wet, they soon emptied them in drinking to the health of the young King, and with gratitude to their kind friends. We there met with many of the uniforms of the Ecole Polytechnique and of St. Cyr. * We exchanged cordial greetings with these brave young men, and after having heard the news from Paris from some of the Gardes du Corps arrived during the night, we returned to the chateau, where we learnt the arrival of many general officers. At breakfast it was announced to us, that the new minister of war had ordered that any letters addressed to us at our garrisons should be forwarded to Cherbourg, and that there were now upwards of 3,000 waiting our arrival at that place ; to prevent confusion, it was decided that five officers of each company of the Gardes should go and

* We have have said that almost all the pupils of the School of St. Cyr joined our escort, sharing all the fatigues with the Gardes du Corps. Only one pupil from the Ecole Polytechnique was seen; it was M. de Barande, brother of the sub-Governor of the Duc de Bordeaux ; he has since, I believe, entered the service of Russia.

bring all the letters. The officers of the staff of the detached corps, had permission to go to Cherbourg to look for their letters themselves. In consequence, vehicles of every description, which the town of Valognes could produce, were put in requisition, and their owners did not neglect the opportunity of doubling the price for them ; but notwithstanding, in less than an hour the road from Valognes to Cherbourg was covered by crowds of officers on horseback, and in carriages ; at four o'clock they returned and brought our letters, many of which contained money. We were amused by the incidents which these officers had met with on the route ; they had encountered some of the remains of General Hulot's division ; these unhappy workmen and artizans, unaccustomed to a march of forty hours in the dirt and with incessant rain, were exhausted with fatigue ; some of them sitting on the road side waited for a carriage to pass, in which they implored to be taken part of the way ; others limping along in their tight boots, supported themselves upon their muskets, as if it were a staff ; all of them wet to the bone, dirtied up to their chins, cursing and swearing at their old general, and at their own folly ; our officers pitying their melancholy plight, gave many of them seats in their carriages, and were repaid by amusing

histories of this memorable campaign. They informed us also that during three days Cherbourg had been infested by the travelling agents, who had formed an advanced guard since our departure from Rambouillet, but their numbers had increased to such a point, that all the hotels and public houses in Cherbourg were full of them, thus it was difficult, it may be almost said impossible, to procure a bed; and the streets, the quays and ports, were overrun by a crowd of pretended English* jabbering maledictions against Charles X. and his family, and saying that in England, *the King and his ministers would have been hung*; they extolled the people of Paris for their exploits during the three days, always bringing in the name of the Duc d'Orléans with especial praise; "he was," they said, "well-known and respected in England," and if England and France were united by a treaty of peace, as they hoped soon they would be, these two empires would be able to conquer all Europe; these and similar sentiments, heard by many of our officers, led us strongly to suspect that these good friends of King Philippe, were English from the environs of Paris and Neuilly, who had been instructed

*I make use of the expression *baragouiner*, as the best calculated to explain the almost unintelligible jargon of a forced and ridiculous imitation of a foreign language.

in the parts they were to act in this great drama. *

About a hundred officers had accompanied our comrades back to Cherbourg, to which place they had gone by different routes than that of Valognes. In the afternoon as I went into the chateau I saw M. le Duc de Guiche in deep conversation with a man of decent, but humble appearance; it proved to be Montigaut, boot-maker to the Dauphin, who had come from Paris to obtain an audience, and we were afterwards told that this good man, grateful for the kindness and patronage which he had received

* We give this opinion as almost a certainty, for we have been since assured by the English Consul, that there were only three English merchant vessels at that time in the harbour of Cherbourg, and three or four American ships; besides, these pretended Englishmen had neither the dress or manners of sailors, and as to the English families residing in Cherbourg and its environs, they belonged to that respectable class of society, who would not take an active part in a riot, even supposing their predilections were in favour of it. It must be acknowledged that this method of disguising the enormous numbers of paid agents from the Comité Revolutionnaire, who had been sent to Cherbourg, was well devised. Some of the English in Paris had taken part in the three days struggle, and this was much spoken of by the papers of the new government, who said that all the English in the province had repaired to Cherbourg, where they plainly showed the interest they took in the victory of the people, &c., &c., crying out that Charles X. should be hung, &c., &c.

from this Prince, had come to offer to him all the money which he had gained in consequence of it; thus following the simple dictates of gratitude, he gave a rude lesson to those courtiers, who for fifteen years had fattened upon the bounties of this too confiding, and too generous family, and yet were the first to turn their backs upon them.* As for myself, ardently desiring

* A similar act of gratitude and devotion, was shown by the celebrated French Surgeon (M. le Baron Dupuytrin); a few months after the revolution of July, it may be recollected perhaps that a man calling himself Coachmaker to the King, presented himself to the agent of Charles X. in Paris, claiming a sum of money of 120 or 130 thousand francs; the agent, not considering the claim sufficiently well established, refused to pay it, upon which he had the impertinence to take his claim before the tribunal, which also, if I mistake not, sent him away without any satisfaction; but the papers having got hold of the story, commented upon it with their usual veracity and benevolence. The King a bankrupt—the King not able to pay his debts—it was scandal, and that was sufficient for them. But as it was known that the royal family had left France very poor, taking with them a sum of money scarcely sufficient for a few days, and that there had been in London a sale of the private effects of all the members of the royal family, the general opinion was, that the King was very poor. It was at this time that the agent of Charles X. received from le Baron Dupuytrin, a bill of exchange for five hundred thousand francs. This generous man, full of gratitude for the kindness of Charles X., put half of his fortune at the disposal of his exiled master. His offer was of course refused, but it was equally honourable to the King, as to the learned Baron.

as well as many others to consecrate my life to the service of this unfortunate family, I requested the Chevalier Ogherty (Ecuyer de Mme. la Dauphine) to obtain an audience for me. This noble Princess, to whose service I had been attached since the first restoration, in the capacity of page, had the kindness to answer my request favourably; and in less than half an hour I was introduced into the dining-room which she appointed for the audience—agitated by the most painful feelings, and looking forward to a second exile, the daughter of Louis XVI. traversed with hurried steps, the large apartment—so pre-occupied, so absorbed in profound grief, that she did not hear the door open and shut, nor my name, which was announced to her by the Chevalier Ogherty; it was not till I was actually before her, and almost impeded her walk that she paused. I own that at this moment my resolution failed, but she spoke and named me with so much kindness, that my courage returned, and I expressed with all the warmth and sincerity with which I was inspired, the desire and hope I had formed of being allowed to follow her; she listened in silence, and as if it gave her pleasure to hear sentiments of devotion and affection expressed with sincerity; and a tear rolled down her worn and pallid cheek. For a long time she remained silent—then ex-

tending her hand, which I pressed to my lips with enthusiasm, "Thanks, many thanks, brave and devoted young man," said she; "do you know that I have already refused five equally attached and faithful friends as yourself, who like you have caused me to shed tears of joy and gratitude—excellent young men!!!—Oh, I well knew," added she, with a strong and energetic voice, "and I have said it often that if the hour of affliction should come again, we could reckon upon you brave and loyal subjects. You whose fathers shed their blood and sacrificed their fortunes, in the cause of my unhappy family!!!—for this, how have they been recompensed!!!"—in saying these words her voice faltered and she wept; she, the noble daughter of the beautiful and virtuous Marie Antoinette, whose graceful head had bounded upon the scaffold—to yells of exultation uttered by a troop of tigers—she, the daughter of Louis XVI. who had died by the hands of the same people, who had formerly given him the name of *father of his country*; she, the unfortunate princess, whose life had been a tissue of misfortune, had yet tears left—tears not for herself, nor yet for her family, they were for faithful and devoted friends—I tried to profit by her emotion, and renewed my entreaties—I fell on my knees, and supplicated her by the memory of my brave father, to allow me to

partake of her bad, as I had done of her good, fortune, and to permit me to follow her into the land of exile. But she had conquered her emotion—and resumed her walk—“No, no, I cannot,” cried she, (with earnestness as if using an effort to suppress her feelings), “no, it would be the extreme of selfishness in me, to draw so many and excellent young men into our misfortunes.” And she now spoke more calmly—“For us, all is lost. Believe, and be guided by me,” said she; “return to your garrison, and your military duties, and render yourself still useful to France, by saving it from falling again into anarchy. You must now attach yourselves to the government of the Duc d’Orleans; he will require many thousand men devoted to him, to support him on the pinnacle on which he has placed himself. His fall will be *followed by another* ’93!!” In saying these words, she covered her face with both hands, and remained silent. I was overcome: these words were the very same that I had heard the evening before, from the mouth of the good magistrate, and a confusion of ideas rushing through my mind, took from me all power of speech. She had resumed her walk, and I remained motionless, but recovering myself, I replied; “What, Madame, do you think it would be possible for me to attach myself to the throne of July, surrounded as it is by false-

hood, dishonour and hypocrisy? No, Madame! this is asking too much. The revolution of July, from having broken and endeavoured to destroy the great principle of legitimacy, from having overthrown your family, and placed at the head of affairs the men who now guide it, is a disgrace to France, a disgrace to which you cannot persuade me to lend my oath and my sword. No, Madame! between the throne of July and myself there are no feelings in common, and France having accepted it, I give up France." I had spoken these words with all the warmth of conviction. The princess paused—her look brightened. "Oh!" said she, "thanks, a thousand thanks, for such sentiments—they are balm to my wounded heart—how painful it is to refuse you—believe me, if it were possible, I would grant your request; therefore, press me no more, and leave me that strength and courage I yet possess; for, God knows, I shall require it all." Her voice again faltered, and her eyes filled with tears—my cause was lost—I saw it; but I remained to call down the blessing of heaven upon her head, and upon that of the royal child. She thanked me affectionately, and giving me her hand, added with kindness, "Adieu! say to M.M. de —," she named the three officers who had preceded

me, "that I shall never forget their devotion and yours ; tell them that the sentiments of loyalty expressed by them, and yourself, will always be remembered by us in our long period of exile, and will be a consolation, and source of gratification to our feelings." She put her hand upon her heart, and I could no longer restrain my tears, or articulate another word. A moment after, the door was opened, and this amiable and courageous woman left the room. I also quitted it, scarcely able to breathe, and so much absorbed in the scene I had just left, and with thoughts so preoccupied, that I passed through the antechamber, where several persons of the suite were sitting round a table, without seeing them, or even knowing they were there. I repeated faithfully to all whom it concerned, the gratifying message of Mme. la Dauphine, and to one friend I related all that had passed ; but in my own heart I shall religiously preserve the impressions made upon me during the audience, and the remembrance of them will remain with me while life shall last.*

* The smallest circumstances in this scene are so impressed upon my memory, that notwithstanding the space of six years, I do not believe I have altered a single one of the words of Mme. la Dauphine.

On going in to dinner I approached a group of officers, surrounding a gentleman from Normandy (whose name I forget); he wore the uniform of the royal volunteers of 1815—the same uniform which M. Guizot wore when he displayed his graces and his elegant manners in the streets and upon the Boulevards of Ghent. But times are changed, and M. Guizot with them, and it is now in the saloons of royalty of July that M. Guizot displays his graces, and dispenses his favours. The Norman gentleman assured us that he had traversed, (following us,) part of the Basse Normandie, and all the Cotentin, without the least difficulty. Two or three Vendéan uniforms were also now seen among us, and several officers had just arrived, some from Italy, others from Barreges and Plombières, where they had been for the cure of wounds. Some old Breton officers, remains of the army of Lescure and of Catelineau, in their uniforms, were also arrived to place at the feet of their monarch departing for exile, the homage and devotion of their noble and loyal country, which had always become most apparent when dangers surrounded the throne! Thus from all parts of France, from the north, from the south, from the west, from Bretagne, from La Vendée, from Provence, from the Py-

renees, officers of all ranks met in the same spot, actuated by one single motive, that of honour and duty, led by the same wish, that of shewing to the King that in his adversity he had some subjects still faithful to him—the wish of strewing his path (on the eve of quitting his native country to tread upon a foreign land, the land of exile) with the incense of devotion. Oh ! it was a high and noble thought, it was a noble and generous sentiment !! and it was an inspiring sight to see hundreds of men from all parts of the vast kingdom of France, of all ages, of all ranks, of all conditions, met together for the performance of their duty, at the voice of honour and of loyalty !!! It is an honour to France, that in these days she had seven or eight hundred children* giving morally such an example to Europe ; and honour, again I repeat, honour to the army which could produce such men !!!

After dinner we met at the cafés, and passed our evening in hearing the news, which was

* Their appearance was voluntary, for it was only the military and household officers belonging to the King and the Princes who were obliged to accompany them ; all those of the Line, and of the Garde, whom we mention, had leave of absence from the King himself, and therefore had no other motive in joining him, than that of loyalty, and a feeling of honour—sentiments which merit praise at all times.

brought each moment from Paris and the provinces, by some fresh arrivals. With what pleasure, and with what pride, we heard the history of the attack upon the Hotel des Invalides by the insurgents. The old Governor, with his wooden leg, at the head of his maimed division, brave and respected remnant of those armies which planted the eagles of Napoleon upon the pyramids of Egypt, upon the towers of the Kremlin, and upon the royal palaces of Vienna, Berlin, and Madrid, and who would have conquered the entire world, had the Almighty seen fit to give that permission to the almost fabulous hero who commanded them ; these veterans, relics of victorious France, recalling to mind that it was to the generosity of a Bourbon, to the grandfather of Charles X.* that they were indebted for the institution which now afforded them a home, food, and all the comforts of life for their old age, in return for the blood shed, and the limbs which they had left dispersed upon the field of battle ; these brave old cripples, with their general, also a cripple, at their head, refused to surrender to the people—in vain

* The Hotel of the Invalides was built and endowed by Louis XIV.

every art was used—their logic comprehended only one thing, and this was the only answer which the people could get from them—"Our general, who is worth 10,000 such as you, says, that you have revolted against the king; we have given our oath to the king, and by that oath we are bound to him, and the Drapeau Blanc shall remain upon our dôme so long as our general says that it shall remain."—In vain the gentlemen of the Ecole Polytechnique, mounted upon large horses, came at the head of fresh bands to demand their submission; the reply was the same. In vain M. de la Fayette, Odillon Barrot, Dubourg, &c. &c., sent their civil and military staffs; the reply was still the same, and the grilles remained shut, and the cocarde blanche defended by wooden legs, but brave hearts; and when forty hours after every drapeau blanc had disappeared in Paris, one only remained in the midst of the tricolor flags.—Yes, from every corner, from every place, from the summit of every church, of every town, of every monument, the drapeau blanc had been banished, and one only remained, grand, noble and pure, larger in size and elevated far above the rest—it was the emblem of a royalty of nine centuries of glory and grandeur—it was the emblem of glory, for it was the standard of

Ivry, of Rocroi, of Fleurus, of Lenz, of Denain, of Gnastalla, of Fontenoy, &c. &c. ; it floated nobly and majestically, as if in derision of the variegated flags which surrounded and envied its glory ; it seemed to hold dominion over them as from a regal throne, majestically floating in the air, like the swan hovering and balancing itself with its white wings, over a lake covered with small and ignoble birds. It was pure and white, and the others were soiled with blood, stained with wine and debauchery. It was graceful and elegant, for it was the hand of a princess, a royal hand, who had attached to its golden staff the embroidered cravate with its fringe and tassels of gold ; while the hand of the executioner and the infamous had ornamented the other with the tinsel of their worn-out finery.

Oh, it was splendid, it was noble, it was grand to see the drapeau blanc float proudly from the Dôme des Invalides.* The names of the gene-

* The General Marquis de Latour Maubourg, Governor of the Invalides, would not resign his command to the ring-leaders of the populace, nor lower the drapeau blanc, notwithstanding the repeated calls to submission which were made to him by the civil and military authorities and by the raving populace ; he still resisted, and alone in Paris his drapeau floated upon the golden dome of the Invalides. At

rals Donnadieu, Despinois à Nantes, Parton-
naut à Marseilles ; those of the colonels, St.
Belin, Chateaubriand, de Noirville ; command-
ants, Rochemore, de Busselot, and others, came
in for their share of that praise always due to

length the insurgents becoming furious, went en masse to the Hotel des Invalides, taking with them cannon, and after having forced the grilles, they penetrated into the interior, uttering cries of revenge and death against the old general, who had dared to defend the standard of the king against his rebellious subjects. The general, with his wooden leg, and face covered with wounds, presented himself before these cannibals, and he who had not trembled before the Austrian, Russian, and English cannon, received with a laugh this menacing populace. " You are accused of having given ammunition to the Garde, general," said the shopkeeper officer, who commanded this noble phalanx. " Yes, I did," replied the old veteran ; " and I would do it again if the Garde were yet in Paris." The intrepid manner of the old general had given him an advantage. " He is brave," said a voice from the crowd, " and we cannot reproach him with having fired upon the people." " The people ?" replied the intrepid warrior ; " I know not the people when they come between me and my duty, and if I had received the order to fire upon the people, I should not have spared them." There was nothing to be gained from an old grumbler of Napoleon's school, and the accusations ceased ;—but, during this parley, some of the mob had mounted the tower of the dome, and substituted the tri-color flag of July, for the noble Drapeau Blanc. The old general quitted the hotel with his wooden leg—with a clear conscience and the satisfaction of having fulfilled his duty to the last.

devotion, fidelity and energy; and when we returned to supper, to the house of our good host, we gave him, fresh and sparkling, the delicious impressions we had received from the recital of these noble actions; he united his applause with ours, and it was to the health of these brave and loyal subjects that we drank his excellent Bordeaux wine. Our amiable host was as interesting and benevolent as the preceding evening, and in listening to him, the words of Mme. la Dauphine constantly recurred to my mind.

CHAPTER X.

Saturday, 15th of August—More of our Comrades—Restoration of the Drapeau, &c., to the King—Dignified and noble manner of this old man—His words—Scenes at the Chateau—The Duc de Bordeaux—Preparations for departure—More News from Cherbourg.—Monday, 16th—Adieu to Valognes—Departure for Cherbourg—Captain Granet, and the Lieutenant of the Vessel de Guyon—Dangerous situation—The White Cockade and the Basins—The Charles Carroll—Arrival of the Royal family—The Workmen of the port, or the Hussars of M. le Commissaire Pouyet—Our good friends the English—Embarkation—Touching Adieus—A real Englishman, or the basket of Grapes and Mme. la Dauphine—Adieu—All is over—Last Signals—The Gardes du Corps—Their return to Valognes—Departure for Dieppe—Rough Sea—Dieppe and the Caroline Baths—All separate—Departure for Paris—One word upon the New Royal Family.

FROM the appearance of the morning, on Saturday the 15th, we had hopes that the day would be less dark and gloomy than the preceding

ones—and soon the sun shone out in all its splendour, as if desirous of lending its brightest beams to gild the affecting ceremony which was to take place on that morning. In the court of the chateau animated groups were conversing, composed of the Gardes du Corps and officers who had arrived during the night. In the camp there was more life and animation than usual; hundreds of officers passed and repassed exchanging a few hurried words and greetings with each other, and the variety and splendour of the uniforms of the young officers excited the astonishment and admiration of the villagers from the environs, who, in their holiday suits, were attracted to the spot by a sight so novel and imposing. Let us add to this, the silver tones of all the bells of the different churches, the sound of the trumpets in the camp, and the neighing of the horses, and we have then some slight idea of the animation caused by this union of circumstances, so unusual in a very small town. In the middle of the day, we received an order to repair to the chateau, where the King was to give audience to a certain number of officers of the four companies of the guards, deputed to deliver up their standards to him; the whole of the escort was under arms, and in admirable order. The gates of the chateau, guarded by a

detachment of Gendarmes des Chasses, were opened, to allow a passage to the deputation, who, carrying the standards, and led by M.M. the Dukes of Croï Solre and Luxembourg,* arrived in the court.—The column was formed four abreast, with the senior officers and the standards at their head, and slowly and silently they ascended the staircase and entered the apartment where the king, surrounded by the princes and his numerous staff, was expecting them. The profound silence which reigned there, had been interrupted for a moment by the arrival of the deputation, but scarcely had they taken their places, when the same melancholy and death-like stillness again pervaded the room. At the moment when M. le Duc de Grammont, who had been appointed to address the king, approached him, with the officers bearing the standards†, all present, by a spontaneous move-

* The four companies were formed in a square battalion, with the Staff in the centre. M.M. the Adjutant Generals having given notice of the ceremony which was to take place, twelve of the oldest of the Gardes du Corps were appointed to compose the deputation to the king, and to escort the standards to the chateau.

† M. le Baron Dumesnil bore the standard of the company of Croï, M. de Brancion that of the company of Grammont, M. de Chabrignac that of the company of Noailles, and M. de Suze that of the company of Luxembourg.

ment, knelt down. The address was short, but eloquent, and the standards were successively placed at the feet of the king. When the last had been presented, you might have heard the hearts beating in the breasts of those who surrounded him, so universal and profound was the silence which reigned for some minutes. The king was overcome, but nobly recovering his energy, with a deep but firm voice, he said, "Gentlemen, I receive these standards, as I gave them to you, and as you have kept them, *without a stain*. I hope that one day my grandson will restore them to you, as he will receive them, without a stain also." After these words, the same mournful silence reigned as before ; it appeared as if all were afraid that even by drawing a breath they might lose one word, one single intonation, even the slightest sound, of that royal and beloved voice which many felt they were probably hearing for the last time. Then all at once, this silence was broken in upon by sobs, which resounded from every part of the room. The Gardes du Corps, no longer able to master their emotion, left their ranks, to prostrate themselves at the feet of the king and princes, who, holding out their hands to them, could only reply with tears. Seized with the contagion of the same spirit, every one of them arose, and

flung themselves on their knees, before their distressed sovereign, and even shed tears over those standards, which were never again to wave at the head of our victorious squadrons.—Oh ! it was an affecting and touching thing to see this mass of warriors weeping at the feet of a dethroned monarch, and a child whose destined throne had been wrested from him before he could ascend it : it was a heart-breaking scene to witness the devoted adieus of fidelity to this unfortunate monarch, without a home, and without a country ; and a thrilling sight it was, to see 200 officers on their knees, before this old man and this child, imploring the blessings of one, and wishing only for a smile from the other, to cheer them for the future.*

During this interview between a sovereign divested of power, and his still faithful subjects, between a dethroned king and his disconsolate

* Well might that sovereign feel an honest pride, who notwithstanding all the faults which he had committed, and the weakness he had shewn, still received such proofs of attachment, respect, and devotion. We cannot look into futurity, and see what fate has reserved for Louis Philippe : he has already escaped pistol shots and infernal machines, but, whatever may be his end, I question whether in the hour of misfortune he will find himself the object of the same respect, devotion and affection, which surrounded and accompanied Charles X. and his family even into exile.

people—between an exiled father and his devoted children, Charles X. was no longer that infirm and weak old man, who had twice before endangered the safety of the Monarchy — his voice was firm and vibrating—his look beamed with a sort of inspiration, his manner was great, noble, and assured. *He was once more a King*, and extending towards us his hands, with the benevolence of a father, he said, “What, my friends, is it for me to console you?” The King and the Princes then retired to their apartments, and for a long time the silence which so eloquently speaks the language of the heart was preserved amongst us—till one by one we left the room. Many officers who had not been present at this touching ceremony were admitted afterwards, to take leave of the King and Princes, and during all the evening, the chateau resounded with the footsteps of those who took advantage of this favour.* Several times in the

* Many of the officers had obtained permission to go to Cherbourg on Sunday, to arrange affairs at the Bank, and other indispensable business. Amongst the officers who surrounded the King during this affecting ceremony, we mention those whom we recollect;—M.M. le Duc de Luxembourg, le Prince de Croÿ, le Duc Armand de Polignac (brother of the unfortunate minister), le Maréchal Marmont, le Baron de

day the Duc de Bordeaux had shewn himself in the balcony, when he had been received by the multitude of villagers who crowded round the gates, with an enthusiasm of which he was very proud ; and he related to those officers admitted into his presence, the flattering and kind words which he had heard, poor child, whose career in life opened with misfortune and

Damas, le Prince de Beaufremont, le Général de la Tour Foissac, le Général de la Roche Jacquelin, les Généraux Auguste de Choiseuil, de Kintsinger, Gressot, de Trogoff, Croissard, de la Maison Fort, de la Bretonniere, de St. Aldégonde, du Roure, du Cosquier, de Bonneval, M. le Prince de Lucinge, the old Comte de Pellan, le Marquis de Cheffontaines, le Comte de Bizemont, M.M. de Briancon de Suze, de Chabrignac, M. le Baron Dumesnil, le Comte Emanuel de Brissac, le Chevalier Ogherty, les Colonels d'André, de la Roche Fontenille, de Charette, de Fraquier de Maupas, de Barbançois, le Comte Alfred de Damas, les Commandans de la Rue, de la Villate, Duchesne, de Fontenoy, de L'Aigle, de Byron, de Favernay, de Coishin, de Cérans, &c. &c.; les Lieutenans, Baron d'Offémont, Comte de Pissy, d'Aubigny, Dulan, d'Allemans, de Froissard de Bouillé, de Wathaire de Ferriette, de Rességuier, Tallard, de Barande, the Commissary of War, M. Weyler de Navas, M.M. de Maupas, de Barande (the elder), de Bervenger, and a hundred others whose names have escaped us ; there also were Vendéan uniforms, and that of the Royal Volunteer, &c. &c.

exile, and who perhaps, one day, under the dark and tempestuous sky of a strange land, will dream of the flowers and sunshine of his own country. Towards evening we had news from Cherbourg, and in the midst of much that was afflicting, we could not help being amused by the absurd boasting of M.M. the travelling agents. It was apparent that the local authorities, and more especially those to whom the police of the port belonged,* wished to pay their court to M.M. les Commissaires, at Cherbourg. One of our comrades, M. de la Rue, aide-de-camp to Marshal Marmont, who had been sent with an order to the Port, upon some subject relating to the embarkation, told us that he found himself pursued, upon the quays and to the harbour, by an excited populace, who tried to force from him the white cockade. After having a long time resisted, and the threats be-

* M. le Commissaire Pouyet is accused of having tried by every possible means, to obliterate the impression which his first reception of the news of the Insurrection in Paris had been calculated to give—viz., that he was unfavourable to the New Government. It is possible, that M. Pouyet may be now an Admiral—but we know that the total absence of police in his port nearly cost us our lives.

coming more violent, he took off his hat, and waving it several times over his head, crying, "Vive le Roi," threw it with all his force into the sea, amidst the applause of many, but to the great disappointment of the pretended English, who were louder than any in their demonstrations of anger.* Our conversation lasted some time, after which all separated to prepare for their departure. My three friends and myself went to take leave of our host, and to thank him for his obliging and cordial hospitality.† The following day, Monday the 16th, at day-break, I received from the Duc d'Angoulême, to whose staff Mme. la Dauphine had wished me

* From their own confessions when they were intoxicated, and by the indiscreet babbling of some of them, it was ascertained by our officers, that these pretended English had been sent by the New Government. One of them, who made strange disclosures, was a waiter from a Café in the Champs Elysées ; he had received 40 francs, on leaving Paris, and had just received the same sum at Cherbourg, on Saturday, the day he was so communicative. From whom he received this money my comrades could not ascertain.

† To name the estimable person of whom we now write, would be to compromise him unnecessarily ; but we here express the grateful and strong feeling of gratitude which we shall ever retain for his benevolent and fatherly hospitality.

to attach myself during the route, an order which I was to convey to the packet-boat, the Great Britain. I set out in company with one of the Gardes du Corps, of the Luxembourg company, who was also performing the duties of aide-de-camp, and who was entrusted with an order to take to the port.* We arrived at Cherbourg, and as we slowly passed through the street which leads to the harbour, we met two or three of our comrades, who having had some money matters to arrange before the departure of the King, had slept there the previous night. They invited us to breakfast with them, which, as we had yet an hour to spare before the time fixed for the delivery of our despatches, we availed ourselves of. When we remounted our horses, to set out for the dockyard, they proposed to accompany us, which offer we accepted with gratitude, having fresh in our memories the history of the hat of Commandant De la Rue. At the moment of our departure, we were joined by the Commandant Comte Alfred de Damas, who was not in uniform, and altogether we made a party of five,—three on

* This officer of the Garde du Corps was, I think, M. le Chevalier de Cheffontaines.

foot, and two on horseback, and then we set out through the streets, already full of people. Our progress at first did not create much sensation, but when we arrived upon the Quay before the Café de la Marine, we were received by cries of "Down with the white cockade!—No more white cockades! Down with the Incendiaries!"—A captain of the 64th regiment of the line, Captain Granet, whose firm and courageous conduct deserves to be mentioned, and who had seen us approach from a distance, tried to persuade the people, that as we were officers of the household of the King, and belonging to the Staff, it was ridiculous to ask us to lay aside the white cockade. A naval officer, Lieutenant de vaisseau, M. de Goyon, who was in full uniform, with the tricolor cockade in his hat, came also out of the crowd, and added his remonstrances to those of Captain Granet; he joined our party, and had the good feeling to accompany us.* The cries then ceased, and we proceeded without interruption as far as the

* One of our party was known to M. de Goyon; we wish here to express to this brave and distinguished officer our sincere thanks for his noble and courageous conduct—to him we owe our existence.

gates of the dockyard, which were guarded by a piquet of the 64th line.* From thence, we were obliged to proceed on foot, this being the order the sentry had received, and while we were giving our horses to the care of two men of the piquet, another horseman arrived in great haste; he was also charged with a despatch from the Duke of Luxembourg, and we waited † for him to join us to pass the gates. The piquet of infantry presented arms, while the National Guards contented themselves with looking at us with stupid insolence. Small detachments of the 64th, and of the Gendarmes des Chasses, had been sent during the night by the colonel d'André, and placed at distances round the dockyard, but as it extended over a distance of two miles, ‡ and that at this hour the disposition of the detachments had not been completed, we were soon out of sight of the last post, and followed

* The fine order and good spirit of this regiment contrasted singularly with the ridiculous pretensions of the National Guard, who busied themselves in and about every thing. A piquet of them, grotesquely ornamented with tricolor ribbons, occupied the outer gates of the Port.

† This officer of the Garde du Corps was M. de Leuze.

‡ It was half after eight.

by upwards of fifty of the workmen of the port, and of the pretended English, menacing and insulting us. We continued to advance, and the crowd which now followed us suddenly increased to some hundreds, uttering the watch-words "Down with the white cockade!—To the water with the incendiaries!" and the crowd pressed closer on us, hostile and menacing. Then the naval officer, who had put himself at the head of our little party, stopped, and said, in a loud and determined voice, "Workmen of the port, I desire you to retire, and to let these officers, who are here on a mission of order and peace, pass quietly; they are under my care and safeguard, and I shall pass my sword through the first of you who shews any inclination to stop them. Gentlemen, follow me;" and the brave sailor, having drawn his sword, opened a passage for us through this crowd, who all at once became docile, and silent from fear and respect; but agitators were amongst them, and we had not proceeded many steps when the crowd again pressed upon us, more numerous, and more menacing than before, with the cries of "To the water! to the water! throw them into the water! it is they who, by the order of the king, have burnt our fields and our houses!"

and this crowd, pressed upon by those more recently arrived, were forced so closely upon us, that our swords would have reached them ; and now our situation was really critical. We found our progress suddenly impeded, from having approached the edge of one of the large basins, with a furious and menacing crowd before us. Behind, and close to us, a descent of fifteen or twenty feet, with an equal depth of water, green, tranquil and clear ; then, on one side of us, an enormous heap of stones, which would, no doubt, have been made use of for our destruction ; and even those of us who were able to swim, would not have had a chance of gaining the opposite side. We all felt the frightful position in which we were placed, for one coup d'œil had been sufficient to make us sensible of the danger which surrounded us ; and in the same moment we all felt that we would not die without a struggle, and by a unanimous impulse put our hands upon our swords, determined to sell our lives dearly. *In vain our generous pro-

* We have said that M. le Comte Alfred de Damas was not in uniform, and was the only one of our party without arms. We were therefore six of us with arms, and quite resolved to use them. What would have been the issue of such a struggle, to what it might have led, God only knows ; that we

tector, M. de Goyon, threatened with the same fate as ourselves, protested with an energy which did him credit; in vain those who were nearest to us hesitated to begin the attack; the crowd, increasing on all sides, forced them against us. In a few moments the conflict would have commenced, blood would have been shed, and the sea would have received us; but by an interposition of Providence, at this critical moment,

should have lost our lives is certain, and we had resolved to make the sacrifice; but if in the struggle any of our assailants had suffered beneath our swords, it would probably have been a pretext for horrible reprisals; it is easy to agitate a populace, to excite them as it had been done in Paris, by shewing them the blood of the people, and the dead bodies of those who had fallen; but they were not told how and for what reason they had perished, nor that they were murderers, and that before they fell their hands had been imbrued in the blood of their brothers—thus, to exasperate the people was the use which had been made in Paris of the dead bodies of some of the unhappy victims of our shots. Thus also, perhaps, at Cherbourg, the conflict, which without reflection we were ready to engage in, might have been followed by a fresh collision, and might perhaps have been the cause of the loss of the lives of the Royal Family; it was not till afterwards that these reflections came into our minds, but then the idea of what might have been the consequences, made us shudder, and gave us more uneasiness than the personal danger from which he had escaped had done.

a captain of the 64th,* warned of our danger, had arrived with a detachment of soldiers, and forcing himself into the midst of this mass of people, already intimidated by our determined attitude, reached the spot where we stood, and conducted us to the packet-boat. In half an hour after, the lieutenant of the vessel, M. de Goyon, assisted by other naval officers, and some of the 64th, had turned all this hired rabble out of the dockyard, where, by some unaccountable negligence on the part of M. le Commissaire Pouyet,† they had been allowed to enter.

Our mission accomplished, I left my comrades to go to the house of an English gentle-

* This Captain, whom Providence sent to rescue us, and by whose interposition we were saved, was, I believe, M. le Vicomte de Mencque, who had married an English lady of the name of Spencer.

† We say to M. le Commissaire Pouyet, that he would have incurred a fearful responsibility, if in consequence of his cowardly wish to conciliate the new powers, there had been any effusion of blood and loss of life—the guilt would have been upon his head. We hope we are mistaken, and too severe upon the inconceivable negligence of M. le Commissaire Pouyet, and we should receive with pleasure the refutation of a fact, which, however, we have only asserted upon the authority of many respectable inhabitants of Cherbourg.

man, who resided at Cherbourg, and for whom I had a letter addressed,—W. Winholt, Esq. He received me with all the attentive but formal politeness which is a characteristic of the well-educated classes of his nation. He had the kindness to beg I would bring and introduce my companions to him. He had just been informed of what had taken place at the port, and having, during the last eight days, frequently seen M. le Commissaire de Marine Pouyet, he expressed in strong terms his opinion of the cowardly and extraordinary conduct of the police of the port. He inquired at what hour the King was expected to arrive, and shaking me cordially by the hand, I left him and rejoined my comrades. At the moment the advanced guard of the escort entered Cherbourg, we mounted our horses, and waited for the King at the gates of the town ; it was then about 2 o'clock. His carriage, which contained himself and the Duc de Bordeaux, came first, guarded on each side by M. le Duc de Luxembourg, le Duc de Croï, General de la Tour Froisac, and Col. d'André. Then came the carriage of the Dauphine, in which were herself, Mme. la Duchesse de Berry and Mademoiselle—and on each side of it M.M. de Brissac, de la Roche Jacquelin, de Charrette, and de Fonteneille.

Marshal Marmont came next, with all the Staff, then the carriages of the suite, and the column was closed by two squadrons of the Gendarmes d'Elite. The cortège defiled slowly through the streets and quays, accompanied by an immense population in their holiday clothes, and whose appearance bespoke surprise and sorrow more strongly than any other feeling. Not one hostile word or murmur—on the contrary, there was a respectful silence, and every head was uncovered as the carriage of the King approached;* some detachments of the 64th, stationed at distances, presented arms to the King, while the officers, with melancholy and dejected looks, lowered their arms as a sign of mourning. On arriving at the gates we found a piquet of National Guards, covered with tricolor ribbons, like the puppets of the Boulevards, and there were a few cries, of “Down with the white cockade!—Down with the incendiaries!” At this place the crowd was immense. The gates were opened, and the carriages had scarcely passed, when the mob of false English, and the

* The women, however, shewed very decidedly the interest they took in the Duc de Bordeaux. “Poor child,” said they, “so young, so innocent, and so unfortunate!”

workmen of the dockyard, who had treated us so well in the morning, tried to rush past ; but a detachment of the 64th, who guarded the gates, repulsed them vigorously, and their rage expended itself in cries and menaces, which, however, found no echoes. The cortège arrived at last, in sight of the packet-boats. The Gardes du Corps arranged themselves in lines—the carriages stopped, and the Princess descended, the King first.—When in the act of passing the bridge, to enter the vessel (the Great Britain), he turned round, and coolly bowing to M.M. Odillon Barrot, Schonen, and la Pommeraie, he invited the Maréchal Maison to follow him. The Dauphin giving his hand to the Duc de Bordeaux, went next ; and la Dauphine resting upon the arm of General la Roche Jacquelin, and Madame la Duchesse de Berry upon that of M. de Charrette, followed ; Mademoiselle, led by her governess, passed the bridge, and then came M.le Duc de Raguse, le Baron Damas, and the Duc de Luxembourg, who were to sail in the same vessel. During the time of the King's conversation with Marl. Maison, all the officers who were not employed, rushed into the vessel, to take a last farewell of this beloved family, and that they might not lose one of the precious

moments yet allowed of remaining with them. I was one of this number, and while with my eyes riveted upon the face of the Duc de Bordeaux, I remarked his affectionate adieus to the officers who surrounded him, a note was presented to me—this note was brought by an Englishwoman, who having been refused admittance into the vessel, asked to speak to me. I went, and found the housekeeper of my excellent English friend Mr. Winholt; she had brought a basket of magnificent peaches and grapes, which she came to offer, in the name of her master, to Mme. La Dauphine.*

The conversation being over between the king and Marshal Maison, the latter left the vessel, and the king gave the signal for departure; then, for the last time, we knelt at the feet of this adored family—for the last time we washed with our tears those hands which had so

* If these pages should ever be read by the good Mr. Winholt, it will be gratifying to us to think that he now receives the thanks of all who saw the pleasure which his amiable and delicate attention gave to the noble and unfortunate Dauphine; but even this pleasure was lessened in feeling that it was not from the hands of one of her own countrymen that she received it. It was a praiseworthy action from a stranger, and we honour the feeling of this noble child of Britain, who gave this proof of interest and sympathy to an exiled Princess.

often been employed in drying the tears and relieving the woes of the unfortunate.—Oh ! if you could have seen the sorrow depicted on the countenances of the old soldiers—if you had heard the sobs of the young officers—of the pages—of the Gardes du Corps, who had a much greater loss than that of mere masters : if you had seen this crowd of warriors, with looks gazing mournfully upon the least motion of the vessel, listening to the last words that fell from the lips of their King and of his family ; if you had seen how, as if by a simultaneous impulse, all heads were uncovered, and the blessings of Heaven called down upon this young and noble child ; and as by degrees the vessel left the shore, if you could have seen the effect produced by that cruel word, *All is over !*—then, as if in despair, swords broken, epaulettes thrown into the sea, and after that the silence of death, of suspense, of stupor—oh, how heart-breaking were these last farewells ! The Great Britain was followed by the Charles Carroll, and both had left the basin, yet there was no movement amongst us, and we all remained plunged in the most melancholy and profound silence. But when at length recovering from this species of aberration of the mind, and returning to a con-

sciousness of passing events, this mass of people gave way, then all became confusion; pages, officers, Gardes du Corps, went in great numbers to the walls of the fort, and there resting upon our horses, motionless and scarcely breathing, with our eyes we for a long time followed these two vessels, who carried with them far from us, every future prospect of glory, honour, and happiness. From time to time a white handkerchief, seen waving from one of the vessels, gave us notice that we were yet visible, and we felt our thoughts were understood, and returned the signals. At last, when at the end of half an hour or more, the two specks on the water which we had been following with so much interest were lost in the immense horizon, we looked at each other, and stifling a sigh, and drying a tear, without a word being exchanged between us, we simultaneously pushed our horses into a gallop, as if we could leave behind the load of grief which oppressed us. During this time the Gardes du Corps had set out on their route to Valognes, where they were to sleep. After having found a stable for our horses, and an hotel for ourselves, we went to thank the good Mr. Winholt, who kept us to dinner. In the evening we made the arrangements necessary for our de-

parture, and having hired a sloop, we embarked on the following day, Tuesday the 17th, at seven o'clock in the morning, for Dieppe.* We found on board, cold meat and a basket of Champagne, which our friend Mr. Winholt had sent, and which was accompanied by one of the kindest notes, in which this excellent Englishman begged us to add his name to the toasts we should drink to the health of the exiled family.† We made sail with a strong breeze, and in less than an hour the sea became sufficiently rough to give us plenty of occupation with our horses.‡ At length, after having remained all day in sight of the English coast, which we had approached

* All were in haste to reach Paris, and while discussing the best and shortest road, we met the Prince de Beaufrémont and General la Tour Froissac, who had hired a sloop to take them to Dieppe; and as they offered to give us and our horses a passage, we decided upon accompanying them: and our horses were embarked the same evening, and during the night all the preparations for our embarkation were made. We were eight in number.

† The kind note, which accompanied this present, was seized, with my other papers, by the police of July.

‡ The king, as a token of remembrance, had given all his horses to the officers with whom he was best acquainted. Some of us had thus received one or two, and our sloop contained twelve horses.

as near as possible, and after a boisterous night, we arrived at Dieppe the following day, Wednesday, about twelve o'clock. We found there a great number of noble families who were in the habit of paying a yearly visit to the Bains Caroline; it was scarcely possible to reply to all the questions which were addressed to us. In the drawing-rooms, in the streets, and even in the shops, where we had frequently to stop, to furnish ourselves with linen, gloves, &c., we were assailed by the anxious population, who owed so much to the royal family, and whom we could scarcely satisfy with details concerning the Duchesse de Berry and her son.* After two days of repose at Dieppe, we separated, each to return to his home; this separation was again a source of grief, so much had the circumstances

* Every one knows that Dieppe is indebted to Mme. la Duchesse de Berry for all its present wealth and prosperity. The Caroline Baths were named after her, and constructed, in a great measure, at her expense, and she passed three months of every year there, attended by a large part of the Court. We have heard with pleasure, that the names of Mme. la Duchesse and of the Duc de Bordeaux are yet dear to the inhabitants of Dieppe; and that the baths, notwithstanding the attempts to prevent it, of the new power, are still called the Caroline Baths.

in which we had been placed during the last fifteen days attached us to each other. I took the road to Paris, where I arrived Sunday the 22nd. It would be difficult to describe the emotions of indignation and sorrow which filled my mind, at the sight of the tricolor flags, ribbons and cockades, which I found at every corner of the streets, the places, the quays, the Boulevards, and even on the omnibuses: I disguised my feelings, and shut myself up to escape from the general exclamations of admiration expressed by the people for the virtues and qualities of the new royal family.* In

* The great points which excited the admiration of the Parisians for their new dynasty were, for the father, that he walked about in the streets of Paris, with an immense tricolor cockade, and armed with a green umbrella, shaking hands with all who wished it, and even with those who did not. They related with enthusiasm of the eldest son Poulot, now M. le Duc d'Orleans, that he drank cocoa for a penny upon the Boulevard; while his mamma, the queen, weighed out the sugar and the coffee, when it was brought home from the grocer's; and that the little sisters, Victoire Marie, and Clementine, made their own bonnets; and the little brother Nemours walked to the Lycée Bourbon or royal school every morning, with his packet of books under his arm; and a thousand other traits of the simplicity and humility of this charming family. Happy Paris!! Happy people!! Thrice happy France!!!

a few days I found some officers of my acquaintance, some friends ; like myself, they were waiting, and at the end of a fortnight, like myself, they quitted Paris, accusing the indecision and inactivity of those men, upon whom the Royal Family had always placed too much reliance.

CHAPTER XI.

Paris after the disastrous events of the Revolution—The Boulevards—The Champs Elysées—Meeting with a great personage, who made himself appear very small—The good people become masters, and the King their very humble servant—Game from the royal parks covering the tables of the people—M. de Cormenin and the rabbits of the King—Soirée at a Banker's; a man of importance—Review of some of the heroes of the glorious week—A journey to Versailles—An old grumbler—In what consists a regiment of Pantins—A truly loyal man—The life of an artist—A Courtier is always a Courtier—The Comte de M.—New and original manner of getting rid of troublesome remarks—Departure from Paris.

AFTER a few days given to repose, and to arranging my affairs, I began to leave the house again. I wished to see the state Paris was in, to form my own judgment upon the disposition

of the people, to hear what they said, and to try and learn their thoughts. 'Poor Paris! only a few months before, how brilliant, how gay it had been—so proud of its court and of its aristocracy—and in what a state I now found it!—what changes had taken place in the streets, upon the Quays, upon the Boulevards!—every where appeared traces still fresh of the struggle which had ended in the downfall of a family of twenty generations of Kings, of nine centuries of prosperity, of glory, and of grandeur—the struggle which had occasioned the loss of so much blood to the country, and the only result of which had been, to bring upon the political arena intriguing lawyers and pennyless adventurers, and to place the crown upon the head of a man false to all his duties, to the ties of kindred, as well as to those of gratitude and religion. The pavement had been taken up, and made use of as well to crush our unfortunate troops, as to assist in the formation of barricades—and the streets now appeared filled with heaps of ruins of every description. And who could have recognized these houses? but a short time previously, radiant with lights and brilliant with flowers—scarcely an evening passing that they were not adorned and embellished for a fête, and the people were

proud of the wealth and taste of the aristocracy by which they were decorated. Now they were soiled and disfigured, pierced by balls, the windows broken and doors thrown down. The Boulevards, whose greatest ornament had formerly been the magnificent trees which sheltered the elegant equipages that traversed them from the heat of the sun, were now animated only by the deafening noise of the heavy and dirty carts, carrying away the mud, and the remains of the barricades—or the monotonous sound of the axe cutting down these very trees, which had been half destroyed by the cannon of *the three days*. Thus on all sides the same spectacle presented itself to the eye, and this spectacle was one of desolation and destruction—it appeared as if the arm of the Almighty had been laid in wrath upon this modern Babylon. Upon the Quays, in the Tuilleries, and in all the public places, instead of the groups, animated by a tempered gaiety, and whose politeness was proverbial even to foreigners, the circulation was now each moment impeded and the eye offended by scenes of the grossest description, and the ear wounded by the most infamous sentiments and expressions. In a word, Paris was in the power of the Canaille—Evil was triumphant, and with riot and profligacy

had taken possession of the streets and public places, and the people gave themselves up without restraint to noisy and boisterous revelry, in imitation of their superiors in rank—who having gained their ends by vice and intrigue, were now also enjoying the fruits of their successes. At the Palais Royal scenes not less disgusting were being acted from morning till night. The care of the Palace (now inhabited by Louis Philippe and his family) had been confided to the heroes of the three days—and I saw with my own eyes, at the door of the Palace, and at the foot of the staircase, the guard kept by half-clothed men, whose infamous expressions would have disgusted any one but the unfortunate idol of such a phalanx. It was surrounded by these men that during fifteen or twenty days *the King of the Barricades* lived, obliged every time that he went out to receive their gross compliments, and to shake them by the hand as friends. It was such men as these who composed the guard which escorted the Queen and the young Princesses from their apartments to their carriages when they went out. Louis Philippe, you ought indeed to be allowed to enjoy more in peace the fruits of your victory, for you have paid dearly for it! It has subjected you to every humiliation, every de-

gradation to which in this deceitful and uncertain world it is possible for a man to be liable.* One morning as I passed the passage Vero Doda, I found myself all at once face to face with a personage of an excessively plain appearance. His enormous head was covered with a grey hat, ornamented by a large tricolor cockade—he carried in his hand the classical umbrella, and if some one in passing me had not taken off his hat, saying at the same moment to his companion, “The King,” I should not have

* “*A votre santé, Philippe, mon vieux,*” roared a veteran blacksmith of the Faubourg St. Martin school of politics, as he took from the black-necked bottle a long and strong pull at its sour contents, *macon ordinaire*, and then suiting the action to the word, wiped the mouth of the bottle with his yet blacker shirt-sleeve, and handed the residue to Louis Philippe.

The Citizen King, then surrounded by the “republican institutions” which Lafayette promised to place about him, to keep the barricade royalty in order, raised the bottle to his mouth, replying, “*A votre santé, mon ami!*” and drank in the presence of the ecstatic crowd this strange decoction of vine juice, vinegar and water. “*Voilà la meilleure des républiques!*” shouted that poor old lady, Lafayette; and the journals next day recounted the scene with touching pathos. “*Désormais une charte sera une vérité,*” cried the triumphant monarch; and the mob in all its innocent simplicity clapped its hands and drank more “*macon.*” (Historical.)

recognized Louis Philippe. I stopped immediately, and took off my hat, not to do honour to the man, but to the office he held and the dignity with which he was invested. I waited a considerable time looking at him, and could not help thinking how painfully he must suffer from the cool indifference of some of those who passed him, from the insulting and gross familiarity of others, and the reproachful and abusive expressions which he found himself subjected to from those men who, being masters of Paris, still crowded its streets and its promenades, intoxicated from the orgies by which they had celebrated their victory, and forcing the King of their choice to take their hands yet stained with the blood of their brothers. During more than a quarter of an hour that I followed with my eyes the steps of the King, I did not see more than ten persons take off their hats on his approach, and I heard with regard to him the most insulting and contemptuous expressions.* After their victory of

* At the very moment Louis Philippe was crossing the galerie *Vero Doda*, there were about twenty persons deeply engaged in looking at and commenting upon some caricatures (of himself,) one of which was the Royal Poire, which, thanks to the injudicious officiousness of M. Persil, then Procureur General, acquired great celebrity—an action having foolishly

the three days, the people leaving to their good friends the lawyers the division of the spoils of government, profited in another way by the power which they had arrogated to themselves ; they repaired to the number of two or three hundred each day, to Sèvres, Rambouillet, St. Cloud, Mongeron, Fontainebleau, &c., &c., and went into the royal preserves, to take the game ; consequently the shops of the dealers in game presented the most abundant supply of all that the parks and forests could produce—deer, stags, roebucks, wild boars, hares, pheasants, partridges, quails, were there in such profusion, that the price was one half of any other eatable, and it may literally be said that the people of Paris and the environs lived during more than fifteen days upon game.* A saying of M. de Cormenin is related upon this subject, which perhaps our readers may recollect. In a series of letters, the cleverest perhaps that were ever written, there was a calculation made of the probable sums which might be

been brought against the author and editor of that caricature.

* The immense quantity of game sold in Paris during a month and sent into the provinces would scarcely be credited ; but millions of braces of hares, pheasants, deer, rabbits, &c., &c., were taken out of the royal preserves.

realized from the royal chases, and a suggestion jocosely made to Louis Philippe to sell the rabbits in his preserves, instead of leaving them for the good people. The joke was, however, taken as serious advice, and from that time the sale of the royal rabbits appeared as raising a sum of many thousand francs in the economical computations of the civil list.* While the *sovereign people* paraded the quays and the streets, and the drums of the national guard were heard at all hours of the day, the shops and magazines were opened cautiously and by degrees, and tranquillity was again re-established. The few people who had not quitted Paris began to meet again. An invitation to a soirée at a banker's, one of the new aristocracy, having been sent to me, I accepted it, as I wished to see what changes this revolution had brought about in society; besides, I had been told that I should meet M. Guizot, and that alone would have decided me upon going, as I

* M. le Vicomte de Cormenin, a gentleman of republican sentiments, published five or six letters on the subject of the civil list, in which he proved that, contrary to the programme of economy, the new government had brought forward a budget with an increase in the expenditure of five or six millions beyond the civil list of Charles X., and this was called a cheap government.

was curious to hear and to compare the language of the Tribune of 1830 with that of the attorney of 1815, and author of the proposition for the establishment of the Cours Prévotales.*

I was, however, disappointed—the great Guizot was not there; but to compensate for this I had the gratification of hearing M. de Salvanday display his laboured and pedantic erudition. M. Duchâtel complimented one of the sons of Casimir Perrier upon the embassy to which he had been, or was just going to be appointed, (I forget which,) and M. Passy listened very complacently to the exaggerated praises of a certain M. Verollot, a member, I believe, of the Chamber of Deputies, who had neither the appearance nor manners of an orator, but who expatiated most emphatically upon the good, the honest, the modest Louis Philippe, and upon his public and private virtues—upon the respective merits of his fine and numerous family, and a thousand other fragments of a theme which it was the fashion

* M. Guizot is the author of the unconstitutional and highly tyrannical project of the Cours Prévotales. The laws of exception created by the government of July, and the establishment of the Chamber of Paris as a political tribunal, are nothing but a variety of M. Guizot's Cours Prévotales.

of the day to dilate upon. There also might be seen *primus inter pares* the witty M. Fulchiron, whom I heard repeat at least twenty times in a quarter of an hour these admirable words, "The honour of the country—the peace of the nation—the interests of commerce, and love for the King and his august family :” words which have nothing ridiculous in themselves, but which nevertheless made half his audience laugh each time that the modern Demosthenes of the 221 uttered them : poor M. Fulchiron !! The most brilliant part of the society consisted of the National Guard—it might have been supposed that all the staff had met there ; there were innumerable epaulettes of all shapes and kinds, and the most grotesque dresses, and figures calculated to excite laughter, and as they had taken to themselves the titles of the different ranks, you heard every moment the words, Captain, Major, Colonel—it was really ridiculous. Our host had been attached to the late government, and accused of Carlism, but his guests upon this occasion had the good taste not to bring the late Royal Family forward as a subject of conversation ; but General Lafayette was much talked of, and praised for the open and honest manner in which he had served Louis Philippe. Some one present

even ventured to say that it was to him *alone* that he owed the crown ; but this idea appeared to be considered a species of heresy, and found no echo. Le Maréchal Maison, M.M. Schonen, and Odillon Barrot, were also mentioned, and praised for the manner in which they had acquitted themselves in the difficult and delicate mission which had been entrusted to them. The merits of M. Guizot were also discussed ; by some he was highly praised, and by others spoken of as a person not to be depended upon, while some even said he was a dangerous man. Poor little Thiers was so roughly handled and cut up by almost all present, that I cannot repeat what I heard of him, though according to my opinion no censure would be too severe which could be laid upon a low, vile intriguer who has proved himself to be without faith, without honour, without religion.* The morning after this famous soireé, I found it necessary to go to Versailles, and in consequence repaired to the Place du Carousel, and took my seat in a gondole ready to set out. For the first time since my return to Paris, I saw the Champs

* We only speak here of the political life of M. Thiers ; but an appeal to his private life would not, we are afraid, render the picture much more pleasing.

Elysées, and it was a sad and melancholy spectacle. No attempt had yet been made to remove the proofs of the devastation *from the three days*, and in my mind I retraced the history of this struggle, so unequal and yet so furious, and in which right and justice had been overthrown (because it had been the will of God that it should be so). Here were seen the remains of a barricade; there were trees broken by the cannon, and cut down by the people.

It may easily be imagined with what melancholy feelings I passed through these scenes, where each spot recalled to my mind the most painful recollections. Here fell a friend, killed by the hand of his neighbour; there, wounded and half dying, one of my comrades was mocked and insulted, and then inhumanly mutilated; there another gave me his last farewell for his mother, and then bid adieu to life. Oh, how bitter were these recollections! I hid myself in the corner of the carriage and wept—I wept tears of regret for my poor comrades, and tears of rage against those men who, arrogating to themselves the name of patriots, had used it as a screen to cover their ambitious projects, and had armed the people against the people, and the army against the army; cow-

ards! who only appeared openly upon the scene when the danger was past, and who now, selfish and interested, aid with all their power the despotism of the new Tiberius, and who, under the pretence of serving, deceived the people, and forged irons for them much heavier than those which they had assisted them to break;—men actuated in their conduct by the love of money, and not by the dictates of conscience—governed by ambition, and not by political faith. Men of July—shame and infamy will yet fall upon you, and will avenge the blood of your fellow-citizens, shed by yourselves—yes, by yourselves, for it was you who lit the torch of that civil discord in which they fell. I was plunged in these bitter reflections, when I was roused by shouts of laughter, and the sound of raised and loud voices. Then for the first time I began to think of and look at my companions. Before me, in deep mourning, was a young, delicate, and pretty woman.* By her side was a man of about fifty years of age, who wore a large pair of grey moustaches, and a red ribbon in his button-hole. I saw that he was a man

* I heard afterwards that this was the wife or relation of one of the officers of the sixth regiment of the Garde, who had been killed during the three days. I think his name was De la Motte.

comme il faut, and after a few moments of consideration, I recognized in him the Baron de M —, a colonel of one of the hussar regiments. Upon the other side, in the midst of two or three insignificant and common-place faces, I perceived the individuals whose laugh and noisy conversation had awakened me from my reverie. One coup d'œil was sufficient to enable me to decide who they were; their half military dress—their moustaches just beginning to grow—the long spurs in their boots—confirmed my opinion that they had become heroes by the revolution of July. Two of them had red pantaloons, with silver bands—all three smelt of tobacco to excess—and added to this, their conceited manner and self-sufficient appearance did not prepossess me much in their favour. For some time their noisy conversation had been confined to discussing the patrols—the station-houses—the orders of the day—the great Lafayette—the fine appearance of the National Guards—all that France had to hope for from a government risen up under such favourable auspices, and which preferred the musket and sabre of the shopkeeper, to the troops who had always surrounded the predecessors of the present King. My neighbour the old colonel and myself listened with a fixed attention to

these observations, and *I* added that one of the great faults of the government of Charles X. had been the disbanding the National Guards.* Our military heroes, emboldened by this approbation, gave the reins to their tongues; they talked of the balls and receptions at the court of Louis Philippe, where they had been admitted, and the names and most remarkable qualities of each of the daughters of the King were discussed by these conceited puppies with an impertinence which made my neighbour the colonel frown, and shew strong symptoms of dissatisfaction; but when one of them dared to draw a parallel between the courts of Charles X. and that of Philippe, complaining that the salons of Charles X. had only been open to foreigners, my old neighbour lost all patience, or wish to continue silent, and addressed them in nearly the following words: "I do not know, gentlemen, by what means you are able to constitute yourselves judges in this question; for permit me to observe that I do not imagine

* A long time will not elapse before the good King Philippe will be obliged to do the same: and if he has not already actually taken leave of his good comrades of the National Guards, he has however given them to understand that he could easily dispense with their services. But how difficult he will find it to free himself from those who weary him, and the bad society whom he has associated with!

you ever visited the court of Charles X., where (though it was not the case, as you have asserted, that none but foreigners were received,) yet certainly no persons were admitted but those who had some claims from merit, from high birth, or an elevated social position. And since, gentlemen, you have compelled me to break a silence which I had wished to preserve, permit me to give you the whole of my opinion. Yes, Sir, there most assuredly is a difference between the court of Charles X. and that of Louis Philippe;—as great a difference as there is between a vessel, a man-of-war, great and noble, majestically and tranquilly floating upon the waves, of which it appears to be the monarch, displaying in every part, and in all its details, the most scrupulous regularity and order, and whose neatness and cleanliness amount to luxury, and a trading vessel from Rouen or Cherbourg, dirty, black and smoky, impregnating the air with the disgusting odour of its cargo, and in the arrangements of which, instead of order, there reigns an indescribable confusion. Yes, Sir, there is between the court of Charles X. and that of Louis Philippe as strong a contrast as there is between a fine regiment of hussars, complete, well mounted, well equipped, well disciplined, with good

officers,—and a regiment of the National Guard, almost without chiefs, without order, imitating the army in every thing as well as in uniform, but all awkwardly, grotesquely,—in a word, in a manner to make themselves ridiculous.

“The Princes of the House of Bourbon, with all their defects, with all their want of energy, and notwithstanding all the faults they have been led to commit, always remained Princes—always acted as true gentlemen,—that is to say, generously and honourably,—and always selected as their associates men of character, and who were in good society.

“*Your* Princes—M. le Duc d’Orleans, and the Duc de Nemours, after the example of their father, have placed themselves in a false position, and in the endeavour to render themselves popular, being continually seen and associating constantly with their comrades of the National Guard, are daily exposed to the most revolting humiliations. * Your King, up

* “Voulez-vous des pommes de terres, mon enfant?” asked a journeyman baker of the then Duc de Chartres (now Duke of Orleans) as, “Hail fellow well met,” the officers and men of the artillery of the National Guards assembled in a low *cabaret* to lunch together, in the glorious weeks which followed the yet more glorious days of July 1830. “Oui, mon camarade,” replied the young Duke, to the old maker of

to the present time, has shewn himself either a man destitute of all energy of character and

loaves and rolls; and the former "stood treat" for a couple of bottles of Champagne. And then as after luncheon they sat in courteous chat, the following conversation took place, which for the benefit of the unlearned, we shall translate into plain English.

Baker—Well, but tell me, young 'un, what does your father say to the "republican institutions" promised us by Lafayette?

Grocer—Ah yes!—ah yes! come, young gentleman, let's have this out at once, to prevent mistakes hereafter: what does your father say to the republican institutions which Lafayette promised us?

The Duke—Why, to tell you the truth, my good friends, I have not heard him speak about them; but I know that he says, "A charter shall be from henceforth a truth, and no deception."

Baker—Ah, that is all very well as far as it goes; but I want to hear less about the charter and more about the republican institutions.

Grocer—That is it, that is it,—less about the charter and more about the republican institutions.

The Duke—But what do you mean, my friends, by republican institutions? I thought it was agreed to have a monarchy and not a republic. I know my father thinks so too, and I should astonish him if I were even so much as to speak about a republic.

Baker—No, not a republic,—our republican institutions.

Grocer—Yes, young man, don't shirk the question. We don't say a republic, but only republican institutions; we must have the consequences of our revolution.

courage, or else a man of very low ideas and bad taste. He remains half buried in the mud

Paper-hanger—Gentlemen, I prefer that phrase to the former ; let the young man tell his father that we expect to reap the fruit of our revolution.

The Duke—Republican institutions, and not a republic ; a monarchy, with republican institutions, and the consequences of the revolution ? I confess I do not understand you.

Baker—Oh, you don't, don't you ? Well, you soon shall.

Law-Student—Allow me, allow me.

Baker—No, no ; am I not your superior officer ?

Grocer—C'est vrai, c'est vrai.

And so the sub-officers of the National Guard of Paris listened with profound attention, whilst the baker, as the representative of the revolution at that meeting, thus explained to the then Duc de Chartres what was meant by the republican institutions, and by the consequences of the revolution of July.

Baker—We expect, young man, that we have not made a revolution for nothing ; we have not driven away Charles X. to have another King, we have not driven away the Duke d'Angoulême to have another Dauphin : when we elected your father Lieutenant General of the Kingdom, it was just to preserve our frontiers from invasion till our army should be ready ; when the other day we elected him, it was only to gain time till we could laugh at Europe. You are a very good-looking, pleasant, agreeable fellow, and God forbid any harm should come to you ; but then never think of being King of the French because you are the son of your father ; it may be, or it may not be, more Noes than Ayes that you may be chosen at some future time King, as your father was elected a few

upon which you have raised his throne. Our King, the old, the feeble, the unfortunate

days back : but only remember one thing ; if ever you are King, it will be because you are chosen by the people ; you will never ascend the throne of France as *heir to your father*. Now this is what we mean to begin with by a republican institution : but that is not all ; we mean that all who defend the country as National Guards shall be electors.

The Duke—That is just, that is just.

Baker—Do not interrupt me ; you shall hear all if you give me time and be quiet. We mean that the army shall elect its own officers, as well as the National Guards. We mean that the peerage shall be abolished, and that there shall be nothing hereditary in all France ; we mean that there shall be a Senate, to be elected by the Deputies, and the Deputies to be chosen by all those who are capable of bearing arms, and of being National Guards. We mean that every Commune shall have its Council chosen by the people, that is to say by all the male inhabitants ; we mean that the Mayors shall also be chosen in the same way, and that *from one end of the country to the other, the people shall be sovereign*. We mean that the King shall only have the right to such Ministers as the majority of the Deputies shall approve. We mean that every man shall be an elector, and every elector a deputy if chosen, whether poor or rich, so long as he shall be eighteen years of age, and be in possession of his reason. We mean that the chamber of deputies shall never last longer than three years, and entirely cleared of the public functionaries who are always ready to support the ministry in its pretensions. We mean to have a cheap government, to have a very small civil list, to give no assuages to reduce the taxes, to abolish the town and city octrois on all articles of eating and drinking ; to have cheap

Charles X. has descended from his with dignity, and is still a King, at least, a Gentleman.

bread, meat and wine; to have no dowries nor annual allowances to Princes or Princesses, your father being rich enough to provide handsomely for every one of you. We mean to have done with the old titles of rank and nobility, to keep the clergy in order—to convert the palaces, which are useless expenses, into schools, museums and colleges, and to change the whole system of education, both public and private. We mean to have for our allies the *people* and not the *King* of foreign countries, and to insist on having for our frontiers the Rhine, the Alps, and Pyrenees.

The Duke—Ah, that is something like! I am for extended frontiers—so is my father, I know. Belgium and Savoy belong to France; I heard him tell Lafayette so the other day.

Baker—I am glad of it, my friend. But I've not done with it yet; we mean to make war against Russia for Poland.

The Duke—Vive la Pologne!

Baker—We mean to help the poor Italians.

The Duke—Vive l'Italie!

Baker—We mean to establish republican institutions in Spain and in Portugal.

The Duke—Vive l'Espagne! vivent les Portugais!

Baker—We mean to destroy the Holy Alliance.

The Duke—A bas la Sainte Alliance!

Baker—That is right, my friend. C'est bien, c'est bien. But I have not finished yet. We mean to reduce our budget to one half of what it was during the reign of Charles X., and yet to have six times a larger army. We mean to abolish all sinecures—all favouritism—all places made for men instead of men for places—and all family patronage and family

“And now, Sir, you have my opinion as to what constitutes the difference between Charles X. and Louis Philippe.”

During all this discourse our three heroes looked at each other much annoyed, not knowing in what manner to take the logic of my old neighbour, who, after this effort of oratory, quietly took up the position of a man who, having said all that he has to say, wishes the conversation to cease at the point where he has left it; but one of the heroes replied, that the manner in which this opinion had been given did not appear to him to be very flat-

favours. We mean the King to have an honest income, but we do not mean your father to have half the power possessed by President Jackson in the United States, because your father is not to be responsible, whereas Jackson is. We mean, finally, to have a monarchy in name, and a republic in nature and reality. We call it a monarchy for the moment to gain time and prepare for war; but your father must know very well that we have not made fifty revolutions in fifty years to settle down contented and satisfied with a monarchy. And now, my young comrade, let us drink to the throne of July surrounded by republican institutions, and to the speedy realisation by the people of the consequences of the revolution.

The Duke—With all my heart, my friends! (and the toast was drunk with enthusiasm.)

French Parties and Prospects,—*Frazer's Magazine*, April 1839, pages 502, 503, 504.

tering or very polite to the new Court, and to those who had the honour of being admitted to it. "Monsieur," replied my imperturbable neighbour, "a court ought to be a court, and a king a king; there are some things not to be endured in society, and one is a man who forgets what is due to himself and to others, and who fails in honour and rectitude of conduct. There are two sorts of men whom I would wish to see excluded from participation in any government excepting for their votes—these are, intriguers, and men of no education; the first, because the study of their whole lives is to deceive others, and that their principle in politics, in religion, in morals, is the same; based upon bad faith, deception and disloyalty; the second, because they are ignorant of true political judgement, and are therefore easily duped by designing men, who guide them as they will."—"Monsieur," exclaimed one of the heroes, "it appears to me that your remarks are intended to be personal." "Not at all," said the old colonel; "my opinion is of general interpretation, and believe me it is a conscientious one, and I should recommend to all persons not to leave their proper avocations to become either legislators, diplomatists, or soldiers. A man of my age and of my character, whose career in

life began upon the battle-field of Lodi, does not speak without reflection, or act but from conviction. Do not, then, take offence at sentiments which arise naturally from witnessing the scenes that have been and are now acting, and when speaking of those men who have been the cause of them, and who wish to govern us." The old colonel had scarcely finished these words, when our carriage was stopped to allow a passage for a company of the National Guards à Cheval. The shako polonais, the short waistcoat of the light cavalry, and the red pantaloons, deceived the eye of the pretty woman who sat opposite to me, and who, enchanted to have an opportunity of interrupting a conversation which began to alarm her, addressed the old colonel.

"Monsieur," said she, "will you have the goodness to tell me to what regiment these soldiers belong?" "To a *Regiment of Pantins*, Madame," brusquely replied my old grumbler,* who at the sight of these *would-be* soldiers had again fallen into an ill humour. At these words I could no longer keep a serious countenance,

* The name of Grogard was given in the army to all the old officers of Napoleon's school, amongst whom discipline was the object of the greatest importance.

and laughed heartily. "Monsieur," cried one of the dandies, playing with the head of his cane, "this is not to be borne ; you must see by our dress that we belong to the National Guards." "Ma foi !" exclaimed the old colonel, now thoroughly out of temper, "take it as you will. I do not like Pantins, and I call Pantins, those who are pretending to be soldiers, without having either their courage or good conduct. Remain as you are, avocat, but do not make yourself a soldier, to be laughed at, and to bring ridicule upon the noble profession of arms. Oh, if I was now only five and twenty," continued he, grumbling, "and had with me ten or twelve of my brave hussars, I would soon overthrow an entire regiment of Pantins like those"—and the old colonel was now in so great a rage that he frightened our pretty neighbour.

The three dandies said not another word ; we were arrived at Versailles, the carriage stopped, and we all separated ; the old colonel having recognised me, we took leave of each other and parted. I amused myself by looking at our three dandies, as they went away with their red pantaloons, their long spurs, but with a little check to their vanity ; and I afterwards entertained my comrades with an account of what had taken place in the carriage.

The following day, on my return to Paris. I met with an old friend whom the revolution of July had deprived of all means of subsistence. He was the son of a Breton gentleman, who had lost all his fortune at the first revolution—he had no other fortune than his savings. M. de R—— devoted himself to painting, and having become an artist, employed himself in copying different tableaux de genres, intending to dispose of them as he could. This was the actual existence of a well-born, well-educated man ; but he bore his privations and bad fortune with such patience, and even cheerfulness, that it excited my admiration. His only fear was (he said) that when the order should arrive to march to La Vendée, he should not have the means of buying a horse and the accoutrements, which would be necessary for him to enable him to go and fight for Henry V. ;* “but,” added he, “I have strong legs, and I will walk ;” and, in fact, he was at his post, and we met many times during the course of the seven months that this campaign lasted, and I saw him always with

* The active police of July made no scruple of entering the houses of persons suspected of being opposed to their government, and taking away arms, or any thing which displeased them, without the slightest formality.

the same resignation and the same strength of mind which I had admired in his garret at Paris : he was one of those who ended his life nobly at the Ferme de la Penissière, faithful to honour, faithful to his oath, and faithful to his king ! One day, when I returned home, I found an invitation to a great dinner given by M. de Semonville, the first which M. le Grand Référendaire de la Cour des Comptes had given since the revolution of July. I refused it from feeling an extreme repugnance to go and sit down in good fellowship with the men of the day ; for M. le Comte de Semonville had treated Charles X. as he had before treated Napoleon, and he was now become Orleanist-Philippist, and embraced, (with all the pliability of an old courtier, without faith or honour, and with all the avidity of a man habituated to trifle with his oaths) the opportunity which each day offered, of paying his court to the new government. A courtier is always a courtier.

Instead of going to dine with M. le Comte de Semonville, I went to my old friend the artist in his garret, where, though the entertainment was anything but splendid, and I had only himself for a companion, I found honesty, good faith, and devotion sufficient to have been able to spare a little to the Pantins whom we

had seen during fifteen years pass and repass upon the political stage, paying their court to those who were then in power. In the evening we went to the Théâtre des Variétés. At the Palais Royal we met an old comrade, le Comte de M—, a man well known for his originality, his excitable temper in politics, and whose muscular strength was quite proverbial in the army. He was going also to the Theatre, and we went together. They acted *La Marraine*, and *La Chatte Metamorphosée en Femme*. The attraction of the theatre made us forget the desagréments which we might have to encounter there; and in fact, between the acts the people called out to the orchestra to play the *Parisienne*; some then rose, their example was followed by others, and with the exception of a very small number of persons, of whom we formed a part, all the pit stood up. Loud cries were now raised against those who did not do so, and had so great an effect, that we were soon the only people seated; then a tempest of invectives was directed against us, but we paid no attention to it, and continued to talk to one another: the cries became louder and more menacing; then the Comte de M. rose, and throwing his glove into the pit, in a stentorian

voice challenged any one to take it up : but he was now recognized, and the tumult was hushed. A Commissaire de Police, however, came to entreat us to stand up or leave the place : we replied, that we had not been warned at the door that the Parisienne would be sung, or that we should be expected to stand ; we reminded him that the programme of the spectacle did not mention the Parisienne, and that we were in the right in refusing either to stand up or go out. The good Commissaire, who had only acted in this way to render himself agreeable to the people, seeing that the tumult had subsided, retired, satisfied with our explanation, and we retained peaceable possession of our box till the end of the performance. When we went out, some groups of young noodles placed themselves before us whispering ; but they all retired as M. le Comte de M. addressed them, asking which of them had brought his glove. After many days of similar scenes, our comrades being arrived, and each having received his instructions, we prepared ourselves for the great work : I had my passport made out for Italy, in order to baffle the vigilance of the police, and after some days of preparation I took my place in the malle-poste for Rennes.

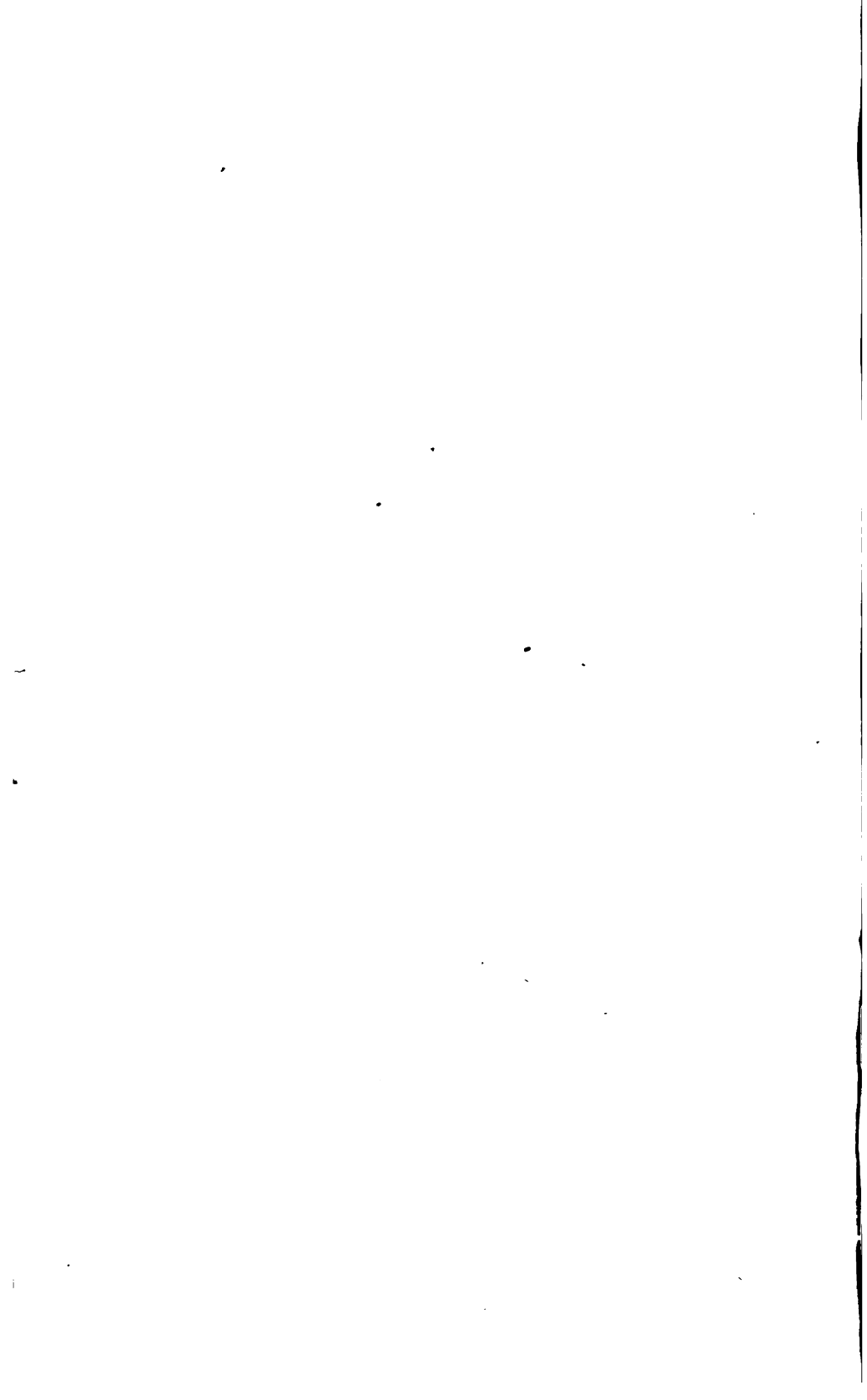
A P P E N D I X.

B I O G R A P H I C A L N O T E S

ON THOSE WHO

HAVE BEEN RENDERED CONSPICUOUS BY

THE REVOLUTION OF JULY.



BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES.

ADELAIDE (the Princess). Sister of Louis Philippe, and married to General Athalin, one of the King's Aides-de-Camp. She is known to be particularly severe, and ungenerous towards her sex, and noted for her love of slander.

BERARD. Author of the Charter of August 1830. After having been created by Louis XVIII. Maître des Requêtes en service ordinaire au Conseil du Roi, he turned against the Royal Family, and in 1830 was one of the 221. He acted most courageously during *the three days*, and powerfully contributed in placing Louis Philippe upon the throne of Charles X.

BARTHE (M. FELIX). A Parisian lawyer. An active member of the Society of the Carbonari, and in 1819 author of a proclamation from this secret Society, addressed to the people, in which it was declared, "that the blood of kings must flow beneath the poignards of the Carbonari." The Revolution found M. Barthe a lawyer, but under its auspices he became first, Procureur du Roi près le Tribunal de la Seine ; afterwards, under the protection of M. Dupont de l'Eure (for M. de Broglie would not have anything to do with him), he had a Presidency at the Cour Royale. Soon, however, Dupont de l'Eure fell into disgrace with Lafayette, which M. Barthe had foreseen, and had already united himself to the Centre, and he soon arrived at being Minister of Public Instruction ; but this did not suit him, he wished to be Minister of Justice. M. Merillhou filled that situation, and was his old friend ; but what did that signify ? the situation was one which M. Barthe thought would suit himself, and he was resolved to have it—and, thanks to the dishonest conduct of M. d'Argout, he had not long to wait. The first use which M. Barthe made of his new power as Minister of Justice, was to dismiss from their situations both his private and political friends, Odillon Barrot, de la

Borde, Lanjuinais, Stourn, Lebreton. It was M. Barthe who ratified the condemnation of his old friend the Deputy Cabet.

BUREAU DE PUSY. A Captain of the Chasseurs of the Garde, who left his regiment at Dreux, on the news of the Licenciement.

BERTIN DE VAUX. Editor and principal proprietor of the Journal des Débats, which journal is an encyclopædia of all the flattery and vile servility with which during the last forty years the reigning power has been inundated. His was the only journal which on the 26th of July was allowed by the Police to appear, its object being to defend the Government of Charles X. His language is changed since then, and his is now the Court's Journal.

BAUDE (Jean Jacques). Was little known till 1829, when he published a pamphlet containing the most violent and gross invectives against

Louis XVIII. and his family, and for which he was condemned to a few months' imprisonment by the Cour Royale of Grenoble. In 1829, he edited a new gazette called the "Temps;" it was in that capacity that he signed the Protest of the Journalists against the Ordonnances of July. The Municipal Commission had made him their Secretary; but the Royalty of July, knowing his republican principles, was resolved to get rid of him, but puzzled how to effect it. He was made Councillor of State and Prefect of the Manche, to replace the Comte d'Estourmel. This not satisfying the journalist, he was made Under Secretary of State to the Minister of the Interior, and Préfet of the Police at Paris. The new-made grandee began his career with the most pompous proclamations, the inhabitants of Paris thought that another Solon had taken the direction of the Police—he was expected to do wonders. On the 30th of January a proclamation was issued, cried in the streets, and the walls were covered with it. What was the purport of this proclamation? Had a new conspiracy been discovered—the enemies of the public peace, or its representatives, been defeated by the indefatigable magistrates? No;—it was an order of the day, that in the month of January, dogs should not be

allowed to be in the streets, unless they were muzzled. It was too ridiculous. The fierce Republican, the man who had caused Louis Philippe so much uneasiness, was now as gentle and mild as a lamb ; he was completely under the control of his master, and turned his malicious feelings against his dearest friends the poor Republicans, and also against the Carlists, and Henry Quinquists, his natural enemies, and during two months the prisons of the Prefecture were in a continual state of agitation and change, from the numbers of people who were constantly taken to them, and brought away—for at this time there was so great an anxiety to make arrests that mistakes were constantly occurring. But at last a fortunate circumstance for the zealous Préfet of Police took place. The Carlist party appeared in the Church of St. Germain l'Auxerrois to solemnize a mass of Requiem for the Duc de Berry ; it was the 13th of February, and a portrait of the royal child, the son of the murdered duke, had been attached to the Catafalque ; that was sufficient—in imagination Henry V. was already at the gates of Paris, and the vigilant Préfet of Police, in his blind and mistaken zeal, had almost occasioned another revolution. A furious proclamation was issued ; the people, still fresh from

their victory, but already disappointed by its results, rushed in crowds into the church, where lay the Catafalque with an image of the son, praying upon the tomb of his royal father. The church was pillaged—the palace of the Archbishop was also invaded by the populace, the doors and windows were broken, the walls pulled down, the valuable library thrown into the river, the furniture burnt, and broken into a thousand pieces. The crosses on the churches were pulled down and demolished, as well as all the outward symbols of religion, which became the objects of the fury of the mob, and M. Baude, Préfet of Police, excited his agents to their work of destruction, while M. Casimir Perrier, President of the Council, remained a passive spectator, and had neither inclination nor courage to arrest it. M. Baude did not long enjoy the power of which he made so unjustifiable a use. In the Directory Book of Paris, we may however now see M. *le Baron* Baude, Chevalier de la Légion d'Honneur, and Mme. la Baronne. It is almost as laughable as his proclamation about the dogs in January.

BORDESOULEL (le Général Comte de). Was a Colonel at Austerlitz, and General of Division in 1813. In 1814 he made his submission to the Bourbons, and was successively made Inspector General of Cavalry, Chevalier de St. Louis, and Great Officer of the Legion of Honour. He was with the King at Ghent during the Hundred Days, and was one of the Council of War who condemned to death the poor deluded Boyer. He was made a Peer of France, &c. &c.; and the way in which he showed his gratitude to Charles X. for all his favours was by deserting, and taking with him to Vaugirard the division of heavy cavalry which he commanded.

BOURMONT (le Maréchal Comte de Gaisne de). Of an ancient and noble Vendean family. He began his military career in 1788. In 1789 he emigrated with the Prince de Condé, to whom he was Aide-de-Camp; after Quiberon he made his submission to the First Consul, and in consequence of his great courage and distinguished manners, became a favourite of Napoleon's. He was *successively* sent to the Army of

Italy as Colonel General, attached to the staff of Prince Eugene in the unfortunate campaign of Russia, made a General in 1813, General of Brigade in 1814, covered himself with glory at the battle of Nogent, and after the taking of Paris, made his submission to his former masters, whom he faithfully served until and after 1830. It was le Général de Bourmont who commanded the expedition at Algiers, for which he was created by Charles X. Peer of France and Maréchal of the Empire. Had the Maréchal Bourmont been in Paris and at the head of the Garde during the three days, we venture to say that Charles X. or his lawful heir would be still on the throne of France. The Maréchal de Bourmont is one of the old soldiers whose whole life has been usefully consecrated to the service and glory of his king and country. One of his sons was killed in the Algerine campaign under his very eyes; but for having remained faithful to Charles X. he has been deprived by Louis Philippe of his rank, fortune, and home.

BUSSELOT (de), le Commandant. An old devoted soldier, who had been left for fourteen

years in the rank of Captain, notwithstanding his eminent services and merit. He commanded the Fort of Carentan.

CHERISEY (de), Colonel of the 2nd Infantry of the Garde at Rambouillet.

CHANTELAUZE (de), Minister of Justice under the Prince de Polignac, and Redacteur of the admirable introduction annexed to the Ordonnances of July. He endeavoured to make his escape from France, but was taken near Tours, brought back to Paris, tried with his colleagues, and condemned with them.

CHABANNES (Comte de), Lieutenant-Colonel of the Chasseurs of the Garde; who on hearing that the King had abandoned his intention of going to La Vendée, left his regiment previous to the Licenciement, taking with him three hundred men.

CATELINEAU, Vendean General. In the first war in La Vendée, he was one of those giant heroes whose names will be handed down to posterity with honour and glory.

CHARRETTE (le Comte de). Colonel in the light cavalry, nephew of the great General Charrette, whose name will always be thought of when La Vendée is mentioned. Le Comte de Charrette married a natural daughter of the Duc de Berry. His devotion to the royal family has been, and still is, that of a Charrette. His application to the king and princesses, to be allowed to follow them into England, having been refused, he concealed his wife in one of the ships which was to convey the royal family, and in which he had permission to accompany them as far as the Isle of Wight, when they both threw themselves at the feet of the king, who at last granted the so-much-coveted favour—that of a *voluntary exile*.

CORMENIN (le Vicomte de). Author of the “Letters to Louis Philippe upon the Civil List.”

He served Napoleon, Louis XVIII., and Charles X. ; but refused to serve Louis Philippe, whom he did not consider sufficiently a gentleman. He was auditeur at the Conseil d'Etat, made a Baron by Louis XVIII., created Vicomte by Charles X., notwithstanding his politics, which were opposed to his government. He was one of the most able adversaries of the ministry Martignac, Deputy when the Revolution of July broke out, but sent his resignation, saying that the people had no right to give a mandate without the sanction of the crown. He gave in also his resignation of Maître des Requêtes after 1831, not wishing, he said, to sit with all the journalists, advocates, and shopkeepers, who had been introduced by the government of July into that once noble body. He was before 1830, and is still, one of the most able and talented advocates of the republican party—but a gentleman.

DUBOURG (le Général). He followed Louis XVIII. to Ghent, and appeared excessively devoted to the Bourbon family; he was made by him Lieutenant-General, and received many favours and distinctions, being created a Count,

&c. &c., when he entered into the ranks of the revolutionists, and became one of the most violent and bitter enemies of the royal family. During the three days he entered the shop of M. Babin, the celebrated fancy and carnival dress-keeper, took possession of an old theatrical uniform, and put himself at the head of the people—thus working the downfall of his benefactors.

DECASES (Elie), Duc de Gluckesbourg. Descended from a family of Libourne, who had received letters patent of nobility from Henry IV., but without any fortune. M. Elie Decases was a lawyer at Libourne when he married a daughter of the Comte Muraire in 1805, and was called to fill the situation of Secretary in the household of Louis Buonaparte, King of Holland, and afterwards was Secretary of the Commandemens to Madame the Emperor's mother. 1814 saw the return of the Bourbons, and M. Decases, forgetting what he owed to the family of Buonaparte, took the command of a company of the Royal Volunteers to go and meet Louis XVIII. During the Hundred Days he was exiled from Paris; but no sooner was the defeat

of Napoleon at Waterloo known, than Decases goes to Paris, takes into his own hands the Prefecture of the Police, and causes both Chambers to be closed. It was under Decases' administration, and by his direction, that the Maréchal Ney and Colonel Labedoyère were arrested and given up to justice. He was elected Deputy for Paris, created by Louis XVIII. Comte and Pair, with all the honours possible. Decases till 1818 made himself excessively conspicuous by the vexatious and unconstitutional means used by the agents of his administration. At the end of the year 1818, having lost his first wife, he married the daughter of the Marquis de St. Aulaire, Mademoiselle de St. Aulaire being, by her mother, granddaughter to the late reigning Prince of Nassau Sarrebruck. The King of Denmark, at the solicitation of Louis XVIII., conferred upon him the title and dignity of Duke of Gluckesbourg. His favour with the king having increased, he was named President of the Council, and tried for two years that system of *bascule* which became so pernicious to France, and which is now the system of Louis Philippe. He was still in the enjoyment of the highest possible favour, when in February • 1820 the Duc de Berry was assassinated. The royalist newspapers, and some deputies also,

having accused the favourite minister of that crime, and these accusations having been believed by many, Louis XVIII. was obliged to sacrifice his favourite, who left France, and went to London, in order to avoid the consequences of the exasperation, which was very general, against the openly designated author of so atrocious a crime. With him fell M. Guizot, and his system of bascule and persecutions. After some time he came over to France, took his seat in the Chamber of Peers, and became one of the most assiduous and intimate visitors of Neuilly and the Palais Royal, circumstances which only tended, in the opinion of many, to confirm the accusation which had been brought against him. Since the Revolution of July he has been received less ostensibly by the Orleans family ; but it is said that he is still behind the scenes, and gives the impulse to all the acts of the policy of Louis Philippe's ministry. He would have been already President of the Council, had not the prudent Philippe feared the recollections of 1820.—Extracted from the Book of the Society named “ Aide-toi, le Ciel t'aidera.”

DESPINOIS (Hyacinthe, le Général Comte). Descended from a noble family, he began his

military career as Cadet in the Regiment d'Infanterie Barrois, General of Brigade in 93, Governor of Milan in 1802; he was named General of Division by Napoleon as a remuneration for his energetic and brave conduct; in 1814 he had offered his sword to his old master and king, and was named Governor of the citadel of Strasbourg; during the Hundred Days he remained unemployed, having refused to join Napoleon. After Waterloo he was appointed Governor of Paris; after which he had the command of Périgueux, and also that of Nantes, where he was when the Revolution of July broke out: he immediately put himself at the head of his division, of 6,000 men, took possession of the public treasury, and of the roads to La Vendée, and in fact prepared everything for the war which he expected would have been carried on in that quarter. It was only after the embarkation of Charles X. and his family, that the general gave up his command, restored the money he had taken possession of, and quitted France to escape the vengeance of the Orléans.

DUMAS (le Comte Mathieu), Général, Membre de la Chambre des Députés, and one of those who most actively worked the downfall of the Bour-

bons, although he had been for many years their very humble servant. He began his military career in 1768, went to America with Lafayette and Rochambeau, was Aide-de-camp to the Maréchal Duc de Broglie in 1789, and afterwards Aide-de-camp to General Lafayette. He emigrated in 92, returned to France in 1800, when Napoleon named him Grand Officier de la Légion d'Honneur, and General of Division. He went to Naples with Joseph Napoleon ; was minister of war at Naples, Grand Marshal of the Palace, &c. &c. The Bourbons came, and M. le Comte Mathieu Dumas forgot all the Napoleon family had done for him, and showed himself as devoted to that government as he had been to the other. In 1828, having been elected a Deputy, he voted against the Ministry ; in 1830 he was one of those who with M. Berard were not afraid of showing themselves in the streets when the bullets were flying about. He was named, by Louis Philippe, Inspecteur Général of the National Guard in France, and filled that situation till his friend Lafayette was dismissed. Le Comte Mathieu Dumas, in spite of his great age, is still a man of energy, occupying his seat in the Chamber of Peers.

DUPIN (André Marie, &c.) célèbre Avocat, one of the most notorious Pantins of this blessed century. Belonging to the family of a small country gentleman, he went to Paris, early devoured by ambition—but the conceited young advocate who had presented himself as competitor for two or three situations to which he believed himself highly superior, had been disappointed, and it was only after the first restoration, during the Hundred Days, that he was called to the chamber of representatives. In the séance of the 22nd of June, he proposed that the abdication of Napoleon should be accepted in the name of the French nation; in the séance of the 23rd he refuses to accept the son of Napoleon II. After the restoration, finding his zeal had not been remunerated to so great an extent as his ambition anticipated, he again took to his former profession of advocate, and instituted himself the defender of all parties attacked by the government; he thus became the defender of Marshal Ney, of Generals Alix, Rovigo, Gilly, Caulaincourt, &c. &c. In the year 1820, very little after the Duc de Berry's assassination, M. Dupin was admitted into the intimacy of the Duc d'Orléans, with the high office of Preceptor to his eldest son, now the Duc d'Orléans; from 1818 to 1827, M. Dupin, who afterwards pro-

posed himself as a deputy, was defeated, and it was only in 1828 that he was elected by the canton of Clamcey—in 1828 his seat was at the Left Centre of the Chamber, and he was always very bitter and violent against the Minister of Justice, which situation he appeared to consider as his own property. In the discussion on the Periodical Press he left the Gauche, and voted with the Ministry ; in 1829 he broke entirely with the Left, and voted with the Government upon two important questions. Upon the question of Electoral Rights, he opposed most violently the proposition of granting electoral rights to those of the working classes who were not proprietors. “ Si ces gens-là, dit-il, venaient réclamer une part dans les élections, et dans le vote de l'impôt, ce ne serait pas leur faire injure que de leur dire, allez travailler pour nourrir vos enfans.” M. Dupin put his name in 1830 to the address of the 221 ; it is said to have been a little from pique, against a ministry which had not given him the long-expected sinecure of Procureur Général. During the battle of the three days, M. Dupin, waiting for the result, remained quietly at home, some say concealed, others unwell—but scarcely had the Garde begun to retreat, than M. Dupin went to Neuilly to entreat the Duc d'Orléans to accept the office of

Lieutenant General of the kingdom, which none but his very best friends had yet thought of offering to him. M. Dupin had the impudence to proclaim himself in the Chamber of Deputies, on the 31st of August, one of the sauveurs of France, before his colleagues, many of whom had known his cowardly conduct. Let us conclude this panegyric by an extract of the notes de la Société Aide-toi, le Ciel t'aidera. “ Nous n'en finirions pas si nous entreprenions d'extraire des discours officiels de M. Dupin toutes les plates flatteries, toutes les serviles adulations dont il a encensé tous les pouvoirs qui se sont succédé—si nous citions de ses discours de tribune, et de ses votes, tout ce qu'il y a eu d'hostile à la liberté, d'attentatoire aux droits des citoyens : il n'y a pas de mauvaise loi qu'il n'ait provoquée, pas de mesure anticonstitutionnelle qu'il n'ait sanctionnée, pas d'amélioration qu'il n'ait repoussée de toutes ses forces—homme sans foi ni conscience, tournant à tous vents comme une girouette et défendant le lendemain ce qu'il avait attaqué la veille—dévoté de la soif des honneurs et de l'or, son ambition ne connaît pas de bornes, et il ne sera même pas satisfait quand après avoir été ministre il ira prendre sa place au Luxembourg, et y contribuer à l'asservissement de son pays de tout le poids de son orgueilleuse parole.” M. Dupin is now President of the Chamber of Deputies.

ESTOURMEL (le Comte d'), Préfet of Calvados, Maître des Requêtes en service ordinaire, Gentilhomme de la Chambre du Roi. M. le Comte d'Estourmel, descended from an ancient and noble family, is one of those who at the Revolution of July gave an example of that loyalty and noble conduct which is the characteristic in all ages of true nobility. M. le Comte d'Estourmel only retained his situation of Préfet till the 20th of August, that he might be able to receive Charles X. and his family with due honours at his Prefecture of St. Lo, which he quitted twenty-four hours after the departure of his King.

GUIZOT (François). Of unknown origin, but brought on the political stage in 1814, by the Abbé Montesquiou, whose Secretary he was. In 1814 he was named by Louis XVIII. Censor Royal, and Secretary General of the Ministry of the Intérieur. Thus, M. Guizot had been called in 1814 to enforce the execution of those very articles of the Charter, which in 1830 gave rise to the insurrection of July, and caused the downfall of Charles X. M. Guizot in 1814 had been in fact the author of those very

laws which in 1830 Charles X. wished to have enforced. M. Guizot was named in 1814 the executor of these laws, and in 1830 became the Minister of the Revolution which made them a pretext for the overthrow of Charles X. In 1815, M. Guizot was one of the first to sign the Acte Additionnel to Napoleon, but it was in vain : Carnot, or rather Fouché, was aware of his secret relations with the Abbé de Montesquiou, the confidant of Louis XVIII., and M. Guizot did not retain in the Napoleon government the favour which he had enjoyed during that of Louis XVIII. Then the disappointed Guizot went to Ghent, where he again joined the Bourbons, uttering the most violent and outrageous abuse of the Imperial government. Having returned to France with the Bourbons, he was reinstated in his former post, and gave amongst other proofs of his extreme devotion to the Bourbons, that of a project of law upon the Cours Prévotales. In 1817, he was elevated by the Duc Decases (favourite minister of Louis XVIII.) to the post of Councillor of State ; letters of nobility were granted him, and he held many lucrative situations, and enjoyed high favour.

After the assassination of the Duc de Berry in 1820, the Duc Decases, who was suspected

by many of being no stranger to the crime, was dismissed, and with him his favourite and protégé Guizot, who then turned completely against his benefactors, and wrote in the republican papers the most violent and severe articles against the power which no longer required or wished for his services ; he then became a friend of Thiers, who was a member of the society *Aide-toi, le Ciel t'aidera*, and also one of the Carbonari. In 1828, he was named as a Professor of Literature in the College of France, and his talented lectures rendered him quite celebrated. In 1830, he was a member of the Chamber of Deputies. During the struggle of the three days, he remained concealed ; on the 28th of July he sent a proclamation to St. Cloud, in which he boasted of his inviolable devotion to Charles X. and his august family. On the 30th he sent a proclamation to the Duc d'Orléans, which was adopted by the deputies assembled at M. Lafitte's— and after the conflict was over, and the victory of the people achieved, he was one of the loudest in their praise. He was created minister and peer by Louis Philippe, and has during three month made use of the power thus obtained to persecute his political friends, to fill the prisons with victims, and enforce the *exceptionnel* laws, by which alone Louis Philippe has

been able to keep his seat on the throne. M. Guizot's Ministry "sera une honte pour lui et ses amis, et a été un grand malheur pour la France."

(Extract from the notes of the society Aide-toi, le Ciel t'aidera, of which M. Guizot was a member.)

GERARD (le Comte Maréchal.) He earned all his titles and dignities on the field of battle. He was a captain at Fleurus in 1791. General at Austerlitz, chief of the staff of Bernadotte, he acted in the most distinguished manner during the campaign of Russia; was created by Napoleon, Baron Comte, Great Officer of the Legion of Honour, and by Louis XVIII. in 1814 confirmed in all his ranks and dignities. He fought like a lion at Waterloo, where he was severely wounded. Till 1817 the Restoration did not forgive him his defection of the hundred days. In 1822 he was called to the Chamber of Deputies, and sat on the opposition benches, and 1830 found him in the same place. During *the three days* he refused, like Lobeau and Sebastiani, to take any active part in the struggle, having accepted the office of Minister of War with the

Duc de Mortemart, M. Casimir Perrier, &c. &c. when he thought the ordinances would be recalled, and civil war prevented. Louis Philippe has known how to make use of the pliability of his disposition ; and this old soldier, so firm and redoubtable under Napoleon, is become a gentle, easy, servile courtier, to the quasi Legitimacy.

HAUSSEZ (le Baron d'), Minister of the Marine under the Prince de Polignac, one of those who signed the Ordinances of July. He was fortunate enough to escape from France before he could be taken, and is now in Germany.

HULOT (le Général). An old drunkard who took it into his head to assemble the National Guard of Cherbourg, and the neighbourhood, with a few pieces of artillery, in order to oppose the passage of the King at Carentan. Hulot was brother to Mme. la Maréchale Moreau, and had frequently received favours from the Royal Family.

LAFAYETTE (le Marquis de), General. His European reputation has rendered this great republican independent of any praise or criticism, therefore we will content ourselves by saying that in our opinion he was a man of real political rectitude; for though he had been all his life conscientiously dreaming of giving to France a government like that of the United States, yet when in July 1830 the Revolution broke out, and he saw that its leaders were men like Thiers, Barthe, Guizot, and Dubourg, he was too honest, and too true a friend to his country, to lend the weight of his name and influence to such men, and therefore in placing Louis Philippe upon the throne, he acted from conviction, and in order to save his country from the horrors of another 93, let us boldly say, he acted wisely. How was he recompensed by the King he created? Posterity will cry shame upon Louis Philippe. Lafayette is dead, honour to his ashes! he was blinded by the vision of a fancied republic, but Lafayette was a man of honour, of conscience, of respectability. We but render to Cæsar that which belongs to Cæsar!!

LATOUR MAUBOURG, (le Général) Gouverneur des Invalides. Descendant of a noble and ancient family, he entered the service as cadet, in the year 1788. Colonel, and then General, he covered himself with glory in many battles, and was made General by Napoleon at Austerlitz. In the campaign of Russia he lost a leg, by a cannon ball when charging at the head of his division. Charles X. knew how to appreciate the gallant old veteran, and gave him the government of the Hotel des Invalides, which the old general faithfully defended till the last moment.

LAFITTE (Jacques), Banker, one of the most bitter enemies of the Restoration, and till 1830 one of the best friends of Louis Philippe, or rather of the Orleans family. He is one of those to whom Louis Philippe owes the crown which now weighs so heavily on his brow. How has he been repaid for all his devotion to this family? Every one knows that the House Lafitte failed after the Revolution of July, and that Louis Philippe did not offer a single pound to save him. So much for gratitude.

L'ESCURÉ (le Comte). General of the Royal Troops in La Vendée, at the time of the first war; he was much beloved by the soldiers, and his name had immense influence.

LOBEAU (Monton, Georges Comte de), began his military career in 1793, as a soldier, at the battle of Novi; he had been raised to the staff of General Joubert, and behaved most gallantly in several battles, and having attracted the attention of Napoleon, he attached him to his own staff. He was taken prisoner at Dresden, where he was retained till the hundred days; when Napoleon created him a Comte, and Pair of the Empire, and gave him the command of the 1st military division. After the 2nd Restoration he was proscribed, and only pardoned in 1818; named as a deputy in 1821, he was one of the celebrated 221.

Being in Paris at the time of the Revolution of July, he, like Gerard and Sebastiani, remained inactive. Vainly was he called upon by some of the people to take an active part in the struggle. On the 28th, after the reunion of some Deputies at the house of Berard, Lobeau was not to be found; it was

only on Thursday the 29th, about two o'clock, when the Garde was in retreat, that General Lobeau proved that he was alive, by causing tremendous discharges of musketry to be fired from his hotel upon our retreating soldiers; he was named by Louis Philippe, Grand Cordon of the Legion of Honour, Commander in Chief of the National Guard, &c., &c.

MARMONT (Viesse de), Duc de Raguse. He acquired all his military reputation under Napoleon till 1814, at which period he attached himself to the family of the Bourbons, to whom he remained faithful till the last moment; he had the entire command of Paris and of the Garde during the *three days*.

MAISON FORT (de la), brother to the Marquis de la Maison Fort, late Ambassador from France to Tuscany. He was a senior officer in the Gardes du Corps, and commanded the advanced guard, when the inhabitants of Condé sur Noireau attempted to stop the progress of the King.

MAISON (Nicolas Joseph). Began his military career in 1792, at Jemmapes, where he rescued the colours of the 9th Parisian battalion. He was made an Adjutant General in 1799, and General of Brigade after the battle of Austerlitz ; created Baron by Napoleon in 1801, and successively by him Grand Cross of the Legion of Honour, and Count of the Empire. In 1814, having heard of the abdication of Napoleon, he turned against him in the most violent and bitter manner. He was created Pair de France and Governor of Paris by Louis XVIII., whom in a proclamation he named Louis le Désiré. He was successively made Grand Cordon of the Legion of Honour, then Commandeur of St. Louis, then Grand Cordon of the same order, Marquis, and at last Maréchal of the Empire ; such were the favours bestowed by the royal family upon a man who was one of the first to turn against it, and who, in conjunction with M.M. Schöen and Odillon Barrot, was entrusted to conduct them to Cherbourg. M. le Maréchal Maison has since been ambassador from Louis Philippe to Vienna.

MOLÉ (le Comte Louis Mathieu). One of the hundred men who have acted a part in every government; for which assertion we will give the proofs : Auditeur of the Conseil d'Etat, Maître des Requêtes, Councillor of State, Préfet, Officer of the Legion of Honour, Directeur des Ponts et Chaussées, and Minister of Justice—all this under Napoleon. On the restoration of Louis XVIII. he testified extreme devotion to him ; was named a member of the Council General of Paris, and signed with that body the famous and servile address of the 20th of March; but when Napoleon returned, he had the cleverness to persuade him that all he had done for Louis XVIII. had been pure comedy, and he was reinstated in all the honours and dignities he had before enjoyed. After the restoration he managed so well, that Louis XVIII. forgot all his ingratitude, and out of respect to his name and ancestors, he was allowed to retain his rank and honours : he was created a Peer in 1817, and replaced the Maréchal Gouvion St. Cyr as Minister of Marine. On the Revolution of July he was one of those who presented the address to Louis Philippe—whose prime minister he is.

MARTIGNAC (le Vicomte de), prime minister of Charles X. in 1828, after the fall of the Villèle administration, and previously to the ministry Polignac. Le Vicomte de Martignac was a man of very high talent, and whose politics were a medium between the ultra-monarchique and the ultra-republican. His administration was the last concession tried by Charles X. ; but such was the blindness of the republicans, such the treachery of the Orleans party, that all the talent and constitutional efforts of that able minister became useless. M. de Martignac retired to make room for the ultra-monarchique ministry, that of Prince Polignac : in 1830, having lost all his honours and dignities, he became again an advocate, and gave the greatest proof of his splendid talents in the able defence he made (before the Peers) of the Prince de Polignac, by whom he had been chosen to plead his cause.

MORTEMART (le Duc de), Pair de France, &c. &c. The revolution of July found M. le Duc de Mortemart at the head of a fraction of the Chamber of Peers of the non-absolute mon-

archy; therefore, a man whose name and influence might be of some weight in arresting the civil war; and, indeed, the Duc de Mortemart, assisted by the Duc de Coigny and M. de Sussy, acted most nobly, not considering the personal danger to which he was exposed in presenting himself before the leaders and excitors of the revolted people, as the agent of Charles X. Had M. le Duc de Mortemart been fairly seconded by Marl. Gérard, Lobeau, Casimir Perrier, Lafitte, and those who had promised their influence to stop the conflict, the Revolution of July would have terminated the first day, by the recall of the Ordonnances, the change of the Polignac administration, and without effusion of blood;—but that would not have given to the Duc d'Orleans the crown, so long coveted—and M. le Duc de Mortemart's patriotism has been mocked and ridiculed.

MONACO (le Prince de), son of Mme. Tallien, Princess of Chimay, had been so kindly treated by Charles X. and his family, that he ought to have acted with more feeling, or at least with more decency, when the royal family, going into exile, passed before the chateau of Thorigny, where he then resided.

MONTALIVET (le Comte de), Minister of Louis Philippe, one of those servile men of easy consciences, who are satisfied with themselves even when they are acting treacherously, who adore the newest idol, and insult the fallen, and whose impudence is their only quality. Such is M. le Comte de Montalivet, such are many of those courtiers whom we now see so assiduous round the throne of July. M. le Comte de Montalivet has always been, but is, if possible, still more so now, a favourite of the Orleans family. He is still Minister of the Interior, and the very humble servant of M. Molé.

ODILLON BARROT, Avocat, Deputy, and one of the three Commissioners, who were appointed to accompany Charles X. and his family to Cherbourg. Although opposed as we are to M. Odillon Barrot's politics, it is but justice to acknowledge the consistency with which he has remained to this very time the most able and talented advocate of the Republican party. M. Odillon Barrot is still a lawyer, without rank, dignities, situation, or fortune. Louis Philippe would have done for him what he had done

for Thiers, Guizot, Barthe, Dupin, &c. &c.; but M. Odillon Barrot has preferred remaining independent, and preserving the esteem of all, even of his political enemies.

POMMERAYE (de la), Deputy from Calvados, and one of the most violent members of the Revolutionary party, but nevertheless a gentleman.

PERRIER (Casimir), Banquier, Négociant, Deputy, &c. He began life by being an officer of the Staff in Italy in 1800, but he soon left the career of arms to take to that of trade. M. Casimir Perrier under the government of Charles X. aspired to be a minister. In 1828 his hopes were excessively sanguine. M. de Martignac came into office, and M. Casimir Perrier became all at once silent. His friends pretended that he suffered from an inflammation of the lungs, but when in November 1830 he accepted the presidency, he showed that his lungs were in a perfect condition. M. Casimir Perrier was full of pride and of ambition, and had the Restoration given him letters patent of nobility, as he had anticipated, (more particu-

larly after the visit of Charles X., then Comte d'Artois, into the department de l'Aube, when he had been received by M. Casimir Perrier in great state at his chateau,) the Bourbon family would not have had a better friend, a more zealous defender, or more devoted supporter. When the Revolution of July broke out, Casimir Perrier was chosen by Charles X. to act as mediator, but it was too late. Casimir Perrier was the soul of the Palais Royal, and he was chosen by Philippe as his Prime Minister: a better choice the new king could certainly not have made. But it is not for his courage during the *three days* that M. Casimir Perrier is most to be admired; he was as much alarmed as his friends Guizot, Duchatel, and Sebastiani, when on the 28th a few journalists endangered their lives by putting their names to an energetic protestation. Casimir Perrier remained in his house surrounded by a few friends, weeping, and trembling, and so powerfully affected by fear, that they thought he would lose his reason. If we look at some circumstances in the political life of this great man, we shall find many contradictions. First, he who was the most violent and determined enemy of the Restoration is now its servile imitator. Second, on the 13th of December, 1817, he spoke in favour of the un-

limited freedom of the press, and now his opinions are so changed, that in a less space of time than two months he has caused more than fifty law-suits to be brought against the periodical press. Third, one of his principal topics in speaking, during ten years, was for the reduction of the budget, and now he brings in his own budget at 1,600 millions, and asks 1,500,000 francs for the Secret Service money of his police. Fourth, his great aim has always been to expose by his eloquence the servility of the functionaries under the Restoration, and now he pursues the same system, and supports it with all his power and influence. He treats the people with much greater severity than they had ever been treated by any Minister of the Restoration, for they only imposed amendes, or dismissed the offenders, while he makes use of the prisons, and even orders the scaffold to be erected. His orders against La Vendée are of the most barbarous kind, and he would make it a war of extermination. O tempora! O mores!—Extracted from the notes of the society Aide-toi, le Ciel t'aidera.

RUMIGNY (le Chevalier de), Aide-de-Camp to Louis Philippe, and his Master of the Horse. M. de Rumigny is certainly a good judge of horses, understands their breeding, &c. &c. ; but he does not understand or practise what is called good breeding in society. We will, however, leave him, to enjoy the favour and friendship of his king and master. M. de Rumigny was the person who was despatched to General Bordesoulle at Versailles, previous to his (General Bordesoulle's) abandoning the King Charles X. and taking his division to the camp of Vaugirard.

SCHONEN (Baron de), one of the Commissaires of the Gouvernement Provisoire, who were appointed to accompany Charles X. and his family to Cherbourg. The Baron de Schonen was a magistrate in 1814. In 1815 he made his submission to Louis XVIII., but placed himself in the ranks of the liberals. In 1820, he pronounced a most violent discourse over the tomb of the Deputy Manuel. He is now a Colonel of the National Guard, Procureur Général at the Cour Royale, and one of the most servile courtiers of Louis Philippe.

SALVANDY (Narcisse Achille de), Minister of Public Instruction. One of the most conceited specimens of French conceit, first a soldier, when in 1813, and 1814, he gave some proofs of personal courage in the campaign of Saxony. In 1814 he became a firm friend to Louis XVIII. and accompanied him to Ghent; he was then named Maître des Requêtes au Conseil d'Etat, and began writing in opposition to the government. In 1824 he became one of the editors of the Journal des Débats, and wrote in the full spirit of servile flattery by which that paper has always been distinguished. He was one of the greatest enemies of M. Lafitte, much opposed to Casimir Perrier; but M. de Salvandy has become a great friend to Louis Philippe, who created him a Peer and Minister.

ST. ALDEGONDE, senior Officer in the Gardes du Corps, one of the bearers of the drapeaux at the ceremony which took place in Valognes, when they were restored to the King.

SEBASTIANI (le Comte Horace), ambassadeur à Londres. Of Corsican origin, not, as has been

said by some of his good friends, related to Buonaparte's family, which was a noble one. Comte Sebastiani's father was a humble cooper at Bastia ; he entered the French service as a soldier, and gained his first rank at the battle of Arcole, and was made a colonel on the field of battle of Verona ; he took a very active part on the 18th Brumaire, being at that time in Paris with his regiment ; he had the guard of the Palais of the Directoire all that night, and went the day after to St. Cloud to consummate the great undertaking. Napoleon become Emperor, did not forget the services rendered to the First Consul, and Sebastiani was named General of Brigade in 1803. After Austerlitz he was made General of Division. During the first Restoration he kept in the background, and continued faithful to Napoleon, who on his return, at the hundred days, recompensed his fidelity by new honours and dignities. After 1815, he was confirmed in them by Louis XVIII. and in 1819 was appointed president of the electoral college of Bastia. It was under the high patronage of M. Decases, that General Sebastiani presented himself to the electors, and he was chosen Deputy. After the disgrace of Decases the confidant turned against the government and took his seat in the left extremity,

near to Dumarçais, Benjamin Constant, and Lamarque. The years 1825, 26, 27, 28, and 29, saw him one of the most intimate habitués of the Palais Royal, and one of the secret visitors of Neuilly. Let us take a view of his conduct during the three days.

On the 27th of July he replied to the Comité of Insurgents (who waited upon him, and entreated him to put himself at their head), "qu'ils étaient de la canaille, voulant le compromettre, et que s'ils ne se retiraient incontinent, il les ferait mettre à la porte par ses valets."

On the 28th some of the Deputies had assembled in the yard of M. Berard's house, where he and General Monton, Comte Lobéau, were received with the epithets of traitors and cowards.

On the 29th he showed himself at the Municipal Commission. In 1831 he fought a duel with General Lamarque, who had called him some offensive name. The General Comte Sebastiani has married a lady of a very noble and ancient family, who certainly forms the greatest attraction, at the hotel of the French Ambassador. We must not forget to mention that M. Bourqueney, one of the writers of the Débats, after-

wards M. de Bourqueney, and now M. le Baron de Bourqueney, is his secretary.

SEMONVILLE (Charles Louis), le Marquis de, Grand Référendaire de la Cour des Comptes. M. de Semonville is one of those men celebrated for treachery, versatility, &c. &c. of which France has produced so many examples during the last forty years. He is of Norman origin, and consequently (as the proverb says) all for money. He has served under all the governments with which poor France has been blessed during the last forty or fifty years. In 1789 he proposed to the Assemblée Nationale, to form tribunals without delay, in order to judge the *Aristocrates conspirateurs*. He was named by the First Consul, Conseillier d'Etat, he took some part in the 18th Brumaire, was sent ambassador to Holland, Commandant of the Legion of Honour, and when Napoleon became Emperor, he recompensed his services by naming him to the Senatoririe of Bourges, and received from the Emperor many other favours and offices; but 1814 arrived, and he was one of the first to agree to the decheance of Napoleon, and became his bitterest enemy. As a member of the Chamber of Peers, he most

strongly opposed the rehabilitation of General Moreau ; he was created a Marquis in 1818, and Grand Référendaire. On every occasion he showed the deepest and most entire devotion to *all* governments — voting always with the Ministry. On the 29th of July he ventured to leave his hotel when all danger was over, and in company with M. de Pastoret, his vice president, he went to Neuilly, to offer his services to the Duc d'Orleans.—M. le Marquis de Semonville is still Grand Référendaire of the Cour des Comptes.

SOULT (Jean Nicholas, Duc de Dalmatie), Maréchal of France. He began his career as a soldier in 1790, and four years after, in 1794, he was General de Brigade ; he was afterwards General de Division, Commandant Supérieur in Piedmont, after the battle of Marengo, Commandant en Chef of the camp at Boulogne, Maréchal de France in 1804, created Duc de Dalmatie in 1807, Major-general of the French armies in Spain in 1809 and 1810, and at one time had *serious thoughts of having himself proclaimed King of Portugal*. Few of our readers

will have forgotten the order of the day to his troops, from the Maréchal Soult, against the Duc d'Angoulême, in 1814. Yet, before a very few days had elapsed, he waited upon the Prince, at the head of the division of the left wing, to compliment him, and to place himself and his troops at the disposal of the royal family. Louis XVIII, as a recompense for such unexpected zeal and conduct, appointed him to the government of the 13th military division, Commandant of the royal and military order of St. Louis, and Minister of War. On the 8th of March, 1815, he published the following order of the day : “ Soldats ! *Cet homme, qui naguère abdiqua aux yeux de toute l'Europe un pouvoir usurpé, dont il avait fait un si fatal usage, Buonaparte, est descendu sur le sol français, qu'il ne devait plus revoir. Que veut-il ? la guerre civile. Que cherche-t-il ? des traitres ! Où espère-t-il les trouver ? serait-ce parmi des soldats qu'il a trompés, et égarés tant de fois en sacrifiant leur bravoure ? Buonaparte nous méprise assez pour croire que nous pouvons abandonner un Souverain légitime et bien aimé, pour protéger le sort d'un homme qui n'est plus qu'un aventurier.* Soldats, l'armée française est la plus brave de l'Europe, elle sera aussi la plus fidèle. Rallions-nous autour de la bannière des *Lis* à la voix de ce père du peuple,

de ce digne héritier des vertus du grand Henri; il met à notre tête ce Prince, modèle des chevaliers français, (Charles X.,) dont l'heureux retour dans notre patrie a déjà chassé l'usurpateur."—*Extract from the Moniteur.*

It was on the 8th of March that Maréchal Soult produced the above splendid proof of his devotion to the Bourbons; we will now shew the order of the day which he published two months after, that is, on the 1st of June, and when Napoleon was once more master of Paris.

The Maréchal de France, Duc de Dalmatie,
Major Général de sa Majesté l'Empereur
des Français, aux Troupes.

"Soldats, des armées étrangères avancent sur nos frontières; quel est l'espoir de cette nouvelle coalition? cent victoires éclatantes, que des revers momentanés n'ont pu effacer, ont dû lui apprendre q'une nation libre conduite par un *grand homme est invincible*. Nos engagemens aux Bourbons, *que la violence nous avait arrachés*, sont détruits par leur fuite," &c. &c.—*Extract from the Moniteur.*

After the disasters of Waterloo, in which battle Soult behaved with his usual courage, he was exiled by Louis XVIII. as a traitor. In a pamphlet which he published in his own justifi-

cation, a few months after, (Paris, Lenormant, 1815,) we find the following passages :—" Sa Majesté, Louis XVIII, ignore sans doute qu'avant le 18 Juin, 1815, et dès l'instant où *l'abdication de Buonaparte me permit d'exprimer hautement mes vœux*, j'ai fait tous les efforts possibles et me suis exposé à toutes sortes de dangers pour ramener *vers nos Princes légitimes* et les troupes et les citoyens, et les diverses autorités de l'Etat."—Page 31.

" M'a-t-on vu hésiter un seul instant à reconnaître, à proclamer les droits des Bourbons au Trône de France? N'ai-je pas été un des premiers à le faire, à la Chambre des Pairs, en présence de tous les Généraux de l'armée réunis en conseil pour délibérer sur la défense de Paris?" &c. &c.—Page 32.

In 1819 he was permitted to return to France, and as a compensation for his exile, in 1821 he was created a Maréchal of the Kingdom. We must mention that he had become quite a religious character, defending the Jesuits wherever they were attacked, attending mass, and following the processions, without regard to the jokes and railleries which such proceedings brought upon him. In 1825 he went to Rheims with Charles X. for his coronation, and was named Chevalier, Commandeur de ses Ordres. In 1827

he was also called to the Peerage as a remuneration for his devoted and firm support to the ministry, already attacked by a strong opposition. In 1828 he began to turn against his friend and patron Charles X, ceased frequenting the churches, spoke against the clergy, and joined the Left Centre. With the Revolution of July, Louis Philippe conferred upon the old courtier of all regimes the situation of Minister of War; and a less constitutional or more tyrannical minister the army never had. He was chosen by Louis Philippe as his representative at the coronation of Queen Victoria; and this choice was one of the many cunning, I may say clever, acts of Louis Philippe's policy. He was well aware of the opinion generally entertained of Soult in England, and knew that the man who in Spain had contended with the hero of Great Britain would excite no common interest, and that he who had fought against Wellington at Waterloo would be looked upon in England as no ordinary man. It was from this cause that Soult met with so handsome a reception in London, Liverpool, and Manchester, which the poor deluded old courtier took as a compliment to himself, forgetting amidst the feasting and cheering of which he was the object, that the English people regarded

him only in the light of one whose fame had added to the laurels won by Wellington.

THIERS (M.) Was first a clerk in an obscure country office, with a salary of thirty pounds per annum. The young author of the book entitled "The French Revolution" employed his leisure time in reading, not those books calculated to do him good, but those which most pleased his fancy, and which served to feed the burning ambition by which even thus early he was devoured. He came to Paris—Paris, the centre of all knowledge, the focus of all social improvement, — Paris, the Athens of modern Europe, as it is called by the pupils of Voltaire and Diderot; but by others who are not pupils of that school, Paris is looked upon in a very different light, and is considered a repair of all the vices, as the moral leper which affects society—as the school for corruption and profligacy, vice and roguery. Through the recommendation of a few friends, M. Thiers obtained an inferior situation in one of the lower offices of the Ministry of Finance; but this was a

beginning for the young aspirant, who having made himself noticed for the quickness with which he wrote the passes given him as task, and the regularity with which his ciphers were made, was not called to a higher situation until 1825, when having been distinguished by M. Cornet d'Incour, Directeur-Général of the Contributions Directes, and by him recommended to the minister, Comte de Villèle, he was appointed head clerk of the Tax Office, a situation worth about two or three hundred a year. From the time of his arrival in Paris, M. Thiers had become acquainted with some young republicans of his own age ; he, the admirer of Mirabeau, Bailly, the apologist of Danton, &c. had been received as a friend by Armand Carrel, Cavaignac, Barthe, and some other cerveaux brulés of the republican party, and he joined them in publishing, in the National and the Tribune, the most violent and abusive articles against not only the government, but the family of the Bourbons. One of these, attributed to young Thiers, having been shewn to the minister, he contented himself with giving him the friendly advice not to write so violently. Notwithstanding this generous conduct of the minister, M. Thiers continued one of the acknowledged

writers of the National, and still retained his situation in the office of the Minister of Finance until 1830, previously to that time having been remarked by the Prince de Talleyrand (whose almost satanic cleverness enabled him to understand the nature and capacity of M. Thiers), he was by him introduced to the Duc d'Orleans, taken under his protection, and became a regular visitor at the Palais Royal. During the struggle of July he shewed even more cowardice than his dear friends, Barthe, Guizot, Dupin, &c. &c. Sebastiani, he was not to be seen, to be met anywhere, and as long as the firing was heard in the streets of Paris, so long did the bold writer and instigator of rebellion—so long did the zealous admirer and panegyrist of Danton, Marat, and St. Just remain concealed in his rooms, some say in his cellar. He who had so often and loudly condemned Robespierre's want of courage as his only fault, whatever might be the reason, it is certain, that as soon as the danger was over, he, like others, appeared boasting of what he had done, and amply has he been repaid by Louis Philippe, or rather by Talleyrand. He was made President of the Council—he who, to use a well-known expression, was not worthy to tie the shoe-strings of an

honest man. Oh ! France, France, to what an excess of degradation have you been reduced ! Since M. Thiers has left the ministry, what a strange line of conduct he has pursued !—now opposing the King's government, now opposing the King himself ; the little man wishing to be considered a Brutus, or, like Publius Agricola, appearing to refuse the Consulate. A dwarf in size and form, he is a giant in cunning and roguery, and a colossus in villainy. Volumes might be written upon this subject, but we will only add, that such men are a disgrace to the age they live in, a plague to their country, and the ruin of the king or master who condescends to avail himself of their talents, or who makes use of them fearing they may be turned against himself.—Notes of the Society des Bons Hommes, Paris 1833.

TALLEYRAND (le Prince de), Charles Maurice, de Perigord. Histoire secrète de notre époque and a walking encyclopædia of bad faith, disloyalty, treason, roguery, and hypocrisy.

He entered into holy orders, and became Bishop of St. Autun in 1789. Deputy of that town to the States General, he joined the Chambre des Communes, in bringing forward the motion to *confiscate the wealth of the Clergy*. He officiated, in his capacity of Bishop, at the Champ de Mars, (with a tri-colored ceinture,) upon the altar dedicated to la Patrie ; consecrating the Drapeaux Tricolors, which had been given to the Departments, and took an oath to the Civil Constitution of the Clergy, and consecrated their first Bishops.

Excommunicated by Pope Pius VI, he resigned his bishopric, and threw his priest's robes and cross *au diable*. He was elected a Member of the Directory of Paris ; charged with a secret mission to England, from whence he proceeded to America, he was placed upon the list of emigrants, but reinstated upon the proposition of Chenier. Called after the 18th Fructidor to the office of Minister of Foreign

Affairs, but resigned July 19, after the publication of his pamphlet entitled, "Eclaircissemens donnés par le Citoyen Talleyrand à ses Concitoyens," in which are found the following passages :—

" Ou la République s'affermira au milieu de tant de choses, ou nous serons abimés dans la confusion, dans la destruction de tous, ou la Royauté reviendra nous asservir avec un surcroit de rage et de tyrannie. J'ai donné à la République assez de garanties pour qu'on ne puisse pas m'accuser de lui être contraire—il est démontré que je n'ai, que je ne puis avoir d'autre vœu *que celui de l'affermissement de la République.*"—Pages 8-9.

" La République ne pourrait périr qu'au milieu des flots de sang, et le nom de celui qui pourrait penser à sa destruction, comme le nom de tout traître, irait à la postérité chargé de l'exécration générale—l'honneur national, qui doit être la vie d'un français, soulève l'ame à l'idée seule que les Autrichiens et les Russes, après avoir ravagé notre pays, *viendraient insolemment* nous dicter des lois."—Page 13.

“ On m'accuse d'avoir porté *la Cocarde blanche* : cette imputation est aussi fausse qu'absurde, une idée aussi ridicule n'aurait pu même entrer dans mon esprit ; je me hate de le dire, si ce reproche était fondé, je serais indubitablement le *fonctionnaire* le plus criminel de la République.”—Page 15.

Devoted to the Jacobins and the Cinq Cent, Talleyrand remained till the 18th Brumaire, of which he was one of the managers with Lucien Buonaparte. At this time the holy man married a Mrs. Grant, an Indian lady whom he had known at Hamburg. Buonaparte having exchanged his title of First Consul for that of Emperor, Talleyrand became his Grand Chamberlain, Vice Grand Electeur, Grand Aigle of the Legion of Honour, and was presented with the principality of Bénévent. Napoleon had not a better friend or a more devoted councillor. On Friday the 1st of April, 1814, at three o'clock in the afternoon, Talleyrand assembled the Senate :

“ Sénateurs, dit-il, j'ai à vous transmettre *des propositions* ; ce seul mot suffit pour indiquer *la liberté* que chacun de nous doit apporter ici.” Now these propositions were the nomination of a Provisory Government composed of five mem-

bers, of which he was named the President—the *déchéance of Napoleon and his family*, which was proclaimed on the same day at nine o'clock in the evening. The proclamation of the Provisionary Government to the French troops, redaction de Talleyrand, is this: “ Soldats, la France vient de briser le joug sous lequel elle gémit depuis tant d'années—vous n'avez jamais combattu que pour la Patrie, vous ne pouvez combattre que *contre elle* si vous restez sous les Drapeaux de *l'homme* qui vous conduit. Voyez tout ce que vous avez souffert de *sa tyrannie* ; refuserez-vous la paix à la France désolée?—les ennemis eux-mêmes vous la demandent ; ils ne veulent s'armer que contre votre oppresseur et le nôtre—la Patrie vous parle, vous ne pouvez appartenir à *celui qui l'a ravagée*—à *un homme qui n'est pas même français*.”

12th of April, le Prince de Talleyrand to Monsieur (Charles X.) “ *Le bonheur* que nous éprouvons en ce jour *de régénération* est au-delà de toute expression, si Monsieur (Charles X.) reçoit avec la bonté céleste qui caractérise son auguste maison, l'hommage de notre *religieux* attendrissement, et de notre dévouement respectueux.”—*Moniteur*.

The Provisory Government to the Army :

“Soldats, vous ne péririez plus à cinq cent lieues de la patrie pour une cause qui *n'est pas la sienne*. Des Princes *nés français* ménageront votre sang, car leur sang est le vôtre: leurs ancêtres ont gouverné vos ancêtres ; cette *race antique* a produit des rois qu'on surnommait *les pères du peuple*; c'est à eux que votre sort est confié—pourriez-vous concevoir quelques alarmes, ils sont enfin au milieu de vous.”—Talleyrand, *Moniteur*.

“Soldats, *la Cocarde blanche est la couleur nationale*, elle sera prise par toute l'armée.”—Talleyrand, *Moniteur*.

Talleyrand on the 12th of May was made Minister for Foreign Affairs, Pair de France on the 4th of June, and sent at the end of the year to the Congress of Vienna as Plenipotentiary. During the hundred days Napoleon tried every means to gain him over, but without success. He resisted, *and this time remained faithful to his last oath*. After the return of the Bourbons he became Grand Chamberlain to Louis XVIII; which high situation he retained under Charles X, at whose coronation he walked most conspicuously between the Duc de Cases and the Duc de Dalberg. The Re-

volution of July 1830 found him ready for another oath,—other proclamations, orders of the day, &c. &c. It would have been giving the lie to his destiny if he had not served Louis Philippe.

THE END.

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